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"Safe" Spaces? Vegan ideologies and farm animal sanctuaries

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ABSTRACT

“Safe” Spaces? Vegan ideologies and farm animal sanctuaries

Angela Dawn Parker

Farm animal sanctuaries in North America are spaces that have been created by humans who want to provide refuge for farm animals who are not normally considered to be companion animals. Within these ostensibly safe spaces, humans and the rescued animals can develop a relationship similar to human-human friendship. These spaces may be free of violence, but humans still control the animals, thus limiting the choices of the non-humans and reinforcing hierarchical relations (Emel, et al., 2015). Are sanctuaries safe spaces? What is a safe space for domesticated animals? Do safe spaces exist?

To answer these questions, this thesis is an exploratory study of two farm animal sanctuaries in Eastern Ontario. Because the concept of safe spaces for animals is novel in the academic literature, this thesis builds from existing definitions of safe spaces for humans: spaces that are free of control, protected from outside society and places where unspoken hierarchies can be challenged (Evans & Boyt, 1992; Gamson, 1996; Roestone Collective, 2014). The thesis also draws on a modified version of Rhoda Wilkie’s (2005) concept of “attached attachment”, linking this concept to vegan ideologies and placing impartialness towards sentient beings at one end of the spectrum and emotional concern at the other end. Wilkie’s farmer-animal associations are employed using a slightly different angle, questioning if animal sanctuaries can be considered safe spaces if volunteers do not exhibit an “attached attachment” with the animals.

Using theoretical insights developed in the field of sociology, geography, environmental studies and ethology, this research will contribute to animal geography as a grounded perspective on farm sanctuaries and safe spaces, two topics that have been largely overlooked. The findings of this research describe farm animal sanctuaries and the people who care for the animals within these spaces. The research finds that vegan ideologies tend to play a role in the foundations of sanctuaries; however, they do not shape all sanctuary spaces. The research also finds that farm sanctuaries may be free of violence, but the animals are still controlled by humans. The safeness is limited at sanctuaries due to the hierarchical divide. This thesis concludes that farm animal sanctuaries are indeed safe spaces for animals, but with limitations.

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Finally, I thank my mom and dad for their ongoing support and encouragement and my friends who put up with both my complaining and my excitement during this difficult (but rewarding!) journey. I appreciate your patience with my (sometimes) argumentative attitude in regards to human-animal relationships… it was all in the name of research!

I could never forget Roy, Cher, Digger and Chester, my animal companions who helped me stay calm and content at the end of my thesis writing days.

I hope my exploration into safe spaces for domesticated animals will provide important substance in an overlooked area of research. I also hope that my research will help close the gap between humans and non-humans. Furthermore, while this thesis focuses on domesticated animals, I hope that the findings can be transferrable to human-wildlife studies.

"Until one has loved an animal, a part of one's soul remains unawakened."

Anatole France

For the non-humans.

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Chapter I: Introduction

Building from the concept of safe spaces for humans, this thesis asks: what would a safe space for domesticated animals look like? Spaces such as people's homes and clean spacious barns may automatically be considered "safe" for domesticated animals. This thesis disrupts those assumptions and critically examines sanctuaries as the "safer" alternative. Vegan ideologies and the feminist theory of care ethics intersect well with the concept of safe spaces. While I did not have the opportunity to engage with feminist care ethics in this thesis, the theory has a promising future within this field of study. This research considers whether sanctuaries can be "safe" spaces for farm animals – specifically asking whether vegan ideologies shape these spaces, and if so, how.

Advocates of animal welfare, who I refer to as "welfarists" in this thesis, advocate for the more humane treatment of farm animals, whereas those who advocate for animal rights, who I refer to as "rightists," fight against animal oppression and exploitation. Both advocate for the "voiceless" (Hewson 2003; Katz et al. 2004), but they arguably have different agendas. Animal welfare focuses on regulating animal exploitation to ensure that demoralized animals are treated "humanely" and without "unnecessary" suffering. These animals include, but are not limited to, farm animals raised for human or animal benefit; animals used in laboratory research; and animals used on film and television sets, in zoos, circuses, and rodeos. The Canadian Federation of Humane Societies (CFHS) upholds "The Five Freedoms," a concept that was developed in the UK in 1965 (CFHS 2016; Spedding 2000). According to the CFHS, "The Five Freedoms" helps define animal welfare. The concept focuses on an animal's primary and is considered the basic care requirements. "The Five Freedoms" are:

1. Freedom from Hunger and Thirst
2. Freedom from Discomfort
3. Freedom from Pain, Injury or Disease
4. Freedom to Express Normal Behaviour
5. Freedom from Fear and Distress

These guidelines were developed for the care of farm animals; however, Spedding (2000) argues that the concept can be applied to "pets."

Animal welfare has its critics. Dawkins (2012) suggests that animal welfare has more to do about humans than it does with non-humans. She argues humans' concern for animal welfare is one-sided and is more in the interest of humans than it is for the non-humans, because the health of animals affects people. Human health could be at risk, through direct contact with an animal or through the foods we eat, if the welfare of non-humans is not regulated. While she agrees that animal welfare is associated with the physical health animals, she also argues that animal welfare should be about the emotions of animals. There is a fine line between animal welfare and animal rights as Dawkins' research demonstrates. While animal welfare does not typically incorporate animal emotion or consciousness, Dawkins suggests that it is important to consider the interests of the animals within animal welfare. This begins to move into the realm of animal rights. Animal rights focuses on ending animal exploitation – which includes, but is not limited to – raising and slaughtering livestock for human or animal consumption; eating meat; hunting; using animals for laboratory research; and animals used for entertainment (zoos, circuses, rodeos, film and television).

Another issue welfarists advocate for is "cage-free" eggs or "free roaming" chickens. While they are concerned about the animal's well-being, welfarists still condone the consumption of eggs and the killing of chickens. On the other hand, rightists are opposed to the consumption of eggs or slaughtering chickens, even if the animal is treated "humanely." Those concerned about animal welfare will sacrifice the animal's rights to benefit humans. They believe that humans are at the top of the energy pyramid and therefore animals can be killed for food and used for human benefit (Dawkins 2012; Adams 2010; Singer 2009; Francione 2008). This also leads to another divergence between animal welfare and animal rights. Within the welfare ideas, humans view themselves as a dominant species and separate themselves from other animals, ignoring (or not realizing) the fact that they too, are animals. This contributes to their belief that non-human animals are here for humans to use. Animal rights considers this action "speciesism." For animal rights, the principle is that humans have an obligation to give equal consideration to the interests of non-human animals and according to Singer (1989) "to discount that interest is speciesist and therefore unethical."

In general, it is acceptable to animal welfarists that animals be used for human benefit, such as "owning" an animal for companionship (Gruen 2014; Dawkins 2012; Francione 1995). Animal welfare supports the idea of "pets" if the animal is treated well. The "pet" can be from a reputable breeder, a farm, or from a rescue organization. Animal rights does not support breeders and rejects the term "pet" as it implies control, ownership and objectification of a non-human animal (Sollund 2011). Animal rights prefers the terms "companion animal" or "animal companion." Furthermore, animal rights tend to support the idea of a "pet-free" world because domesticated animals are a product of human-controlled selective breeding (Baier 2016). Wayne Pacelle, CEO & President of The Humane Society of the United States (HSUS) believes that "pets" should not exist unless every person was "very responsible, and didn't do manipulative breeding, and cared for animals in all senses, and accounted for their nutritional needs as well as their social and psychological needs, then I think it could be an appropriate thing" (Kerasote 1994, p. 266).

Lastly, animal rights supports empty cages rather than cleaner and bigger cages. For example, Regan (2001) argues that "the truth of animal rights requires empty cages, not larger cages" (10). Welfarists support the farming of pigs, but advocate for the elimination of gestation crates; they accept rearing chickens on a large scale but lobby against battery cages; and they will eat meat, but campaign for more "humane" forms of slaughter, such as on-farm euthanasia (RSPCA 2016; McCance 2012). By contrast, rightists advocate for the abolition of animal farms.

The explanations above give a general overview of animal rights and animal welfare. There are several sub-genres of both positions, including the "new welfarist," the "utilitarian," and "the abolitionist approach" to name a few (Singer 2009; Francione 2008). Not all those who advocate for either rights or welfare entirely follow the paradigms and there is no concrete outline for both philosophies and both can be considered "umbrella" terms (Fraser 2011, p. 91; Olsson p. 23). The following chart (Table 1) outlines the different agendas and highlights some of the dissimilarities between animal rights and animal welfare.

Animal Welfare	Animal Rights
Focuses on regulating animal exploitation to ensure that demoralized animals are treated “humanely” and without “unnecessary” suffering.	Focuses on ending animal exploitation.
Will sacrifice animal rights to benefit humans.	Animal interests are protected and not sacrificed for human gain.
Uses the term “pet” to describe animals living in homes with humans.	Uses the terms “companion animal” or “animal companion”
Views humans as the dominant species and separates humans from non-human animals.	Humans and non-human animals are viewed as equals.
Support the idea of “pets.”	Promote the idea of a “pet free” / “companion animal free” world
Advocate for cleaner cages.	Advocate for empty cages.

Table 1. Comparison of “Animal Welfare” and “Animal Rights”

Regardless of their differences, the advocacy of both welfarists and rightists have encouraged alternative residences such as sanctuaries which provide a home for non-human animals.[1] Farm animal sanctuaries in North America are spaces that have been created by humans who want to provide refuge for animals who are not normally considered to be companion animals. Animals are typically rescued from being slaughtered or from situations considered inhumane. They are then brought to sanctuaries as a refuge from harm.

Within these ostensibly safe spaces, humans and the rescued animals can develop a relationship similar to human-human friendships. Interacting regularly with animals can cultivate a bond which satisfies the human need for attention and emotional closeness, which Borgi & Cirulli (2016) argue is comparable to human-human friendships. Within these spaces, both welfarists and rightists interact. Rightists will tend to follow vegan ideologies, such as compassion for all beings, and exclusion of exploitation and violence, to support their beliefs and to educate humans about animals as sentient beings. But not all vegans are rightists. Many environmentalists are vegan due to the environmental-impacts of factory farming. Others are vegan simply for their health. Francione (2008) argues that being vegan is more than a dietary choice. He suggests that being vegan also includes the philosophies of animal rights including opposing exploitation and “the speciesist hierarchy”

[1] Animals that are non-human will be referred to as specifically animals throughout this proposal.

(17). For this research I distinguish between a vegan diet and a vegan lifestyle. Francione (2008) disagrees that someone can be a rightist if they are not vegan. This is contradictory and if one supports many principles of animal rights but eats meat, then they would be welfarists and not rightists. Using animals for human benefit is a key argument for rightists.

Veganism is a way of life and its roots have been historically intertwined within several religions and cultures including three that derived from ancient India: Buddhism, Hinduism and Jainism. For example followers of Jainism and Mahayana Buddhists of China and Vietnam are vegetarian. Jainism is considered to be the most compassionate religion and opposes harm to all life (Sztybel 1998). This religion inspired Mahatma Ghandi, who believes that vegetarianism is "a virtue of necessity" (McLaughlin 2012; Ghandi 2002, 224). While Hinduism perceives humans above non-humans, Waldau (2004) argues that Hinduism is not speciesist and the religion does encourages compassion towards all nonhumans. Furthermore, the Buddha's teachings inspire profound compassion and sympathy to the suffering of animals (Natshok Rangdrol 2004).

Vegetarian movements were established over 150 years ago; however, veganism evolved into a culture in the West in the 1940s when the first vegan society was formed in the UK in November 1944 (Singer 2009; Smart 2004; Stepaniak 2000). Similar to Buddhism, Hinduism and Jainism, veganism opposes the exploitation and oppression of, and violence against all beings (Adams 2010; Francione 2013; Nibert 2013). While veganism endorses animal-free products for the benefit of humans, non-human animals and the environment, it also promotes compassion for all beings, oppression and hierarchy (Adams 2010; Francione 2013; Nibert 2013). Some vegan movements also support the abolition of capitalism and some others are tied to a "green capitalism." This concept prioritizes the health of the planet and fosters economic growth, considering both the economy and the natural environment as participations. Within green capitalism veganism is regarded as ecologically beneficial (Van Den Berg 2016). Those who adopt a vegan diet solely for ecological purposes do not necessarily follow a vegan lifestyle and therefore their ideologies are not measured within this thesis. This thesis examines vegan lifestyles that include a vegan diet for animal rights.

This thesis is an exploratory study of two farm animal sanctuaries in Eastern Ontario. Volunteers at both sanctuaries were interviewed and observed to understand their relationships with the nonhuman animals. These observations were made based on the questions that this thesis aims to address: How "safe" are sanctuaries for nonhumans? What determines a sanctuary's safeness? And finally, since veganism is deeply interconnected to farm animal sanctuaries: Do vegan ideologies inspire safeness, and if so, how"? Within the literature there is no definition of safe space for nonhuman animals. But safe spaces for humans have been described as spaces that are free of control, protected from outside society and a place where unspoken hierarchies can be challenged (Roestone Collective, 2014; Gamson, 1996; Evans & Boyt, 1992). These meanings will be evaluated when considering safe spaces for nonhumans. While this research draws on the strong body of scholarship that investigates human-animal relationships and veganism (Adams 2010; Francione 2013 & 2008; Larsson, *et al.* 2013; Nibert 2013; Fox & Ward, 2008), I aim to contribute an original perspective to this literature by exploring the meaning(s) of safe spaces for animals. Sociologist Rhoda Wilkie's (2005) framework of farmer-animal associations is the basis of my methodology. In her 2005 paper "Sentient commodities and productive paradoxes: the ambiguous nature of human-livestock relations in Northeast Scotland," Wilkie outlines a framework of farmer-animal associations. In her analysis, Wilkie outlines four different degrees of farmer-animal association: 1) *concerned detachment*; 2) *detached detachment*; 3) *concerned attachment*; and 4) *attached attachment*.

According to Wilkie, "attached attachment" is an association where animals remain decommodified; "concerned attachment" is where farm animals are decommodified but can be recommodified at any time; "detached detachment" describes commercial workers who do not feed or look after animals (i.e. slaughterhouse); and "concerned detachment" refers to commercial workers who regard livestock as "sentient commodities." While Wilkie's framework is strongly associated with (de)commodification, this research instead compares her associations with vegan ideologies and the ability for one to detach or attach itself to the connection of farm animals as companions and as food on one's plate. The commodification process views nonhuman animals as a product that can be bought or sold. In contrast, within animal rights decommodification regards animals as having rights and eliminates the notion of buying and selling animals and/or animal products. Because

vegans oppose exploitation, a concept comparable to decommodification, it is fitting to use Wilkie's framework as a basis for understanding the emotional attachment/detachment and volunteer-animal relationships.

Wilkie's framework recognizes that farm workers perceive farm animals on different levels. Similar, sanctuary volunteers view farm animals on different levels and for this thesis the ideas of farm animals as companions and farm animals as food create the foundation of the modified framework. Wilkie's definition of sentient commodity refers to a farm animal's existence as both an emotional being and a marketable object, a concept that is retained in the modified volunteer-animal associations. Wilkie's framework is widely cited within the literature in regards to human-farm animal relations (Hoffet 2015; Riley 2011; Brock 2007; Miele & Bock 2007). Additionally, decommodification is highly linked to veganism and therefore the concepts can be connected to Wilkie's farmer-animal associations.

In particular, this research uses the concept of "attached attachment" as a link to vegan ideologies, because the Wilkie's levels recognize that there are differences between those who "work with" animals. It identifies the impartialness towards sentient beings at one end of the spectrum and the emotional concern at the other end. Wilkie suggests that affection and attachment take a position in an animal's "production role". This research's associations of volunteer-animal can use Wilkie's associations to determine how farm animals at sanctuaries are at a different stage of the "production role" and can be viewed as retired or rescued from production or never commodified, depending on their situation. Even though the sanctuary animals are considered "safe" from being consumed, the varied levels of attachment can still exist, because animal care volunteers view the animals differently.

Thus, attached attachment can be a method to group how volunteers connect to sanctuary animals. Within Wilkie's attached attachment, there is a positive farmer-animal relationship as the farm animal is treated as an individual. For vegan ideologies attached attachment can be used to describe a positive volunteer-animal relationship. Furthermore, with Wilkie's framework, the farm animal is decommodified within attached attachment. For vegan ideologies sanctuary volunteers grouped within this level of attachment view the

farm animals as companions and not as objects used for service. As mentioned, this research will use Wilkie's farmer-animal associations from a slightly different angle, questioning if animal sanctuaries can be considered safe spaces if volunteers do not exhibit an "attached attachment" with the animals.

Ultimately, this research explores the safeness of sanctuaries using the idea that safe spaces for farm animals is determined by whether or not the people at these spaces exhibit an attached attachment. This research thus combines Wilkie's framework with the principles of veganism, as well as interviews and participant-observation methods to evaluate if animal sanctuaries are indeed "safe" spaces.[2] The research proceeds through a case study of two animal sanctuaries in Ontario that have at least ten volunteers who contribute to the everyday routine of animal care and interact often with the animals. One sanctuary promotes animal rights, while the other advocates for animal welfare.

At these two farm animal sanctuaries, the relationship between humans and non-human animals will be examined. Participant observation will be applied to study the relationships between the volunteers and animals. Both qualitative and quantitative data were collected for this study, contributing to a multifaceted geographical examination of human-animal relationships within "safe" spaces. In addition, the quantitative data will demonstrate how many volunteers are vegan (thus, demonstrating "attached attachment") versus how many are not (thus, demonstrating "concerned attachment" or "detached attachment"). The quantitative data will complement the qualitative findings by offering an insight of how each individual sanctuary influences its volunteers' beliefs. Furthermore, the qualitative findings will assist in determining the levels of attachment/detachment.

With all this considered, I contemplate the following: *Are sanctuaries safe spaces?* Using theoretical insights developed in the field of sociology (Gamson 1996; Wilkie 2005 & 2010), Geography and Environment (Lorimer &. Driessen 2013; Lambin 2012; Urbanik 2012; Holloway 2007; Philo & Wilbert 2000), and ethology (Boissy 2011 & 2007), this research will contribute to animal geography on a topic that has been largely overlooked.

[2] Throughout the proposal I refer to safe spaces for animals. Although not specifically mentioned throughout, this proposal focuses on farm animals, which includes (but is not exclusive to) domesticated equine, bovine, fowl (including waterfowl), ungulates (pigs), and other animals considered to be livestock/farm animals.

Primary Research Question

This research uses vegan ideologies (compassion for all beings, and opposing exploitation and violence against animals) critically to examine human-animal relations within farm animal sanctuaries and to determine if its principles shape these spaces. The interactions between humans and non-human animals within these spaces will be observed and conversations with sanctuary volunteers will help conceptualize the idea of safe spaces for farm animals.

- Are sanctuaries safe spaces, or spaces in which those who interact with the animals exhibit attached attachment?
    - Attached attachment was measured by the percentage of volunteers who follow a vegan lifestyle as well as volunteers' beliefs, which were categorized into welfarist and rightist.
    - To verify if volunteers respect a vegan lifestyle, they were interviewed and observed.
    - The everyday operations of the two sanctuaries were observed to help understand how the vegan ideologies integrate into each sanctuary's mission and everyday operations.
    - Once the beliefs of the volunteers are determined, they will be categorized within one of the following: a) attached attachment; b) attached detachment; c) detached attachment; d) detached detachment.[3]

[3] This framework will be further explained in the methodology and literature review.

Chapter II: Literature review

a) Overview

Humans have interacted with animals for as long as they existed and are dependent on animals for food, other products and companionship (Philo & Wilbert 2000). Human-animal relationships are especially prominent on farms. The available academic literature confirms that there are numerous types of spaces for farm animals, including commercial factory farms, hobby farms, farm-parks, sanctuaries and even wilderness (Lorimer & Driessen 2013; Riley 2011; Adams 2010; Beardsworth & Bryman 2008; Weiss 2007; Wilkie 2005; Yarwood & Evans 2000). Many scholars suggest that human-animal relationships differ depending on the space (Holloway, 2001; Wilkie, 2005; Adams, 2010). Thus, Holloway (2001) argues that some hobby farmers perceive farm animals as both friends and sources of food as animals assist with their connection to the land. Riley (2011) agrees, concluding that retiring commercial dairy farmers go through post-separation; however, the separation has more to do with the removal of oneself from a life-long job and a cessation of a familiar heritage than it has with the human-animal bond. Lorimer & Driessen (2013) argue that introducing domesticated animals to the wilderness[4] can alter human-cattle relations and the way humans live with and control cattle. In the case of the heck cattle introduced to the wilderness of Oostvaardersplassen in the Netherlands, the cow is no longer a regulated farmed animal, but instead a wild “monster” intertwined in biopolitics (Lorimer & Driessen 2013).

While the literature identifies numerous spaces for domesticated animals, farm animal sanctuaries and the idea of safe space for these animals is yet to be explored. There are more than 10 farm animal sanctuaries in Ontario, each one varies with their principles, but they all provide an arguably non-commercial safe space for farm animals who are typically housed within spaces where they are viewed as marketable products.[5] Moving animals from place to place can change the human-animal relationship and it is important

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[4] This practice is known as both re-wilding (Lorimer & Driessen 2013) and de-domestication (Twine 2013).

[5] The Toronto Vegetarian Association lists eight sanctuaries (http://veg.ca/animal-issues/animal-sanctuaries/), but an internet search using Google reveals at least three more.

to question the type of attachment humans have with animals in different spaces, and if their principles have any effect on the safety of the space.

This literature review will examine texts that analyze human-animal relationships from interdisciplinary fields. These perspectives will present a basis for understanding human-animal relationships within space, and will be used to construct a definition of safe space for animals. The literature review will consider definitions of safe spaces for humans to help conceptualize a definition of safe space in a more multi-species sense. The review will also discuss the work of scholars who have looked at sanctuaries and shelters: Taylor (2004 & 2010) examines animal welfare worker principles within animal shelters; Alger & Alger (1999) explore human-animal relationships within cat shelters; Arluke discusses the human conflict of euthanizing animals in shelters (2009) and Wilkie (2005 & 2010) and Emel, *et al*. (2015) study human-animal partnerships on alternative farms. Additionally, there have been a lot of studies of wild animals within sanctuaries and zoos (Gruen, 2011; Beardsworth & Bryman 2009). However, the literature lacks critical examinations of sanctuaries as spaces for domesticated animals. Furthermore, none of these academics fully consider the spaces in which rescued animals live nor do they integrate vegan ideologies.

Wilkie (2005) developed a framework that evaluates human/farm animal relations concerning levels of emotional attachment and detachment, suggesting that affection and attachment are dependent on what the animal is being used for and where it is in the production cycle. Wilkie uses ethnographic data to examine farm animals as "sentient commodities." She questions what makes a farm animal more than 'just an animal'. Her research suggests that a worker's job or duty will define the emotional connection between human and animal. She concludes that this connection is different in commercial organizations and hobby farms. Commercial farmers tend to exhibit a level of human-animal detachment (attached detachment or detached detachment), whereas hobby farms are most likely to display a degree of human-animal attachment (attached attachment or detached attachment).

To fully understand animal sanctuaries as safe spaces, animal geography must be considered, for it challenges spatial orders and the placing of humans and animals. The literature review will therefore examine themes in the fields of geography (animals in the landscape, domestication, and sanctuaries); and sociology (veganism and safe spaces), focusing on human/animal relationships (anthrozoology). There has not been a lot of research that focuses on vegan ideologies and animal sanctuaries as safe spaces; therefore, the literature review examines theories in the broad spectrum of veganism, safe spaces, and human-animal relationships. This review will focus on four major themes which emerge throughout the reviewed literature. The themes are: vegan ideologies and the evolution of veganism; domestication of farm animals and the environmental impact; human-animal relationships within farms and sanctuaries; and the idea of safe space for animals.

b) Human-animal relationships

Historically, human-animal relationships have been complex and imbalanced. Whether the relationship is between humans and sheep or humans and coyote, the relationships tend to have the human on top of the hierarchical pyramid (Anderson, 1997; Plumwood, 1993; Blue & Alexander, 2015). Plumwood (1993) challenged the idea that humans have become "masters [sic] of nature," placing humans against other species rather than co-existing with them. Mullins (1999) perceives anthropological human-animal studies to be human-dominated, even though she admits that there has been a change in academia, supporting the idea that there are comparisons within human-animal relationships and colonialism, and the social construction of race, class and gender. This perceived dominance can be problematic (Plumwood, 1993). Plumwood (1993) places the human-animal relationship into a culture/nature dualism which expresses a socially-constructed hierarchy of human over non-human. Instead of placing humans above non-humans Plumwood has argued that opposing hierarchy is more beneficial socially and ecologically. She discusses prey and predator in her essay "Being Prey" (2002). Her encounter with a crocodile who perceived her as prey led her to realize what it was like to be prey -- a concept that is that entirely misunderstood by humans, who tend to fear the idea and

therefore, become controlling in order to be on top of the animal kingdom. This view extends back as humans and non-human animals have had intricate relationships for centuries.

Humans have worshipped animals as deities; animals have provided protection and companionships to humans; and humans have exploited animals for human benefit, through trophy hunting, medical research, and entertainment to name a few (Jamieson 2006; Ryder 2006; Singer 2009). Through time humans have reassembled their relationships with animals. The process of food production and consumption has changed over the past 100 years, creating a detachment from animals as a living being. As Altman (1991) describes, commodification is a financial transaction, and when it involves the marketing living beings, those beings are regarded as objects. Industrial meat production methods thus involve an objectification and commodification of animals, where the animal is viewed as an insentient thing, removing any emotional and conscious existence. Adams (2010) argues that a process of objectifying an animal enables oppression and renders them to be of lesser value. Furthermore she concludes that animals become absent when humans eat meat, referring to this as "absent referent " (separating the dead animal from the food we eat), suggesting that humans view live animals and dead animals differently; "thus a dead body replaces the live animal and animals become absent referents" (2010, 66). Farm animals come to be considered "food producing units" (Adams 2010, 213) and thus within the food industry, these animals are reduced to financial transactions.

Similar to objectification, farm animals can be referred to as commodities due to the buying and selling of animals as if they were objects. Industry Canada confirms this assumption by stating that commodification concerns "the association of something or some practice with the attitudes that ordinarily accompany commercial transactions." [6] With government funded lobby groups such as the Dairy Farmers of Canada and the Canadian Cattlemen's Association[7], the relationship between human and farm animal has

[6] https://www.ic.gc.ca/eic/site/ippd-dppi.nsf/eng/ip00046.html
[7] http://www.grants-loans.org/blog/government-funding-2/federal-government-funding-offered-to-canadian-beef-industry/

gone beyond worship and companionship and has focused on the use of animals for human benefit.

The view of farm animals today is quite problematic, because it implies a hierarchical divide between human and non-human. This view has consequences beyond the farm. As Lambin (2012) suggests, positive relationships with animals are important for planetary sustainability. The public is becoming more aware of negative human-animal relationships due to ongoing allegations of animal abuse at commercial farms exposed by animal rights groups (Fricker 2014; Moore 2014). Because of the growing awareness, Masson (2000) suggests that humans are now establishing more beneficial relationships with animals. Some humans even launched their own sanctuary after raising a pig and acknowledging that it is a sentient being, rather than a source of food (Russell 2014). Candea (2010) argues that it is important for humans to remove the "symbolic reductionism" and include non-humans as equals in complex social relations (253). To determine if a mutual relationship can exist between human and non-human, it is important to critically approach these complex social relations and challenge the inequalities.

c) Veganism

Throughout the literature, there are several definitions of vegan and veganism. The most standard definition declares that veganism is a "practical philosophy" in which one does not harm or exploit animals and also works towards ending harm and exploitation. This definition demonstrates that vegans not only practice a compassionate lifestyle; they also actively oppose harm and exploitation (Cole, 2010). Cole also states that a vegan lifestyle can contribute to a healthier environment. In the 1940s both Leslie Cross and Donald Watson questioned the consumption of dairy products by vegetarians. When Watson, Elsie Shrigley and five others formed the Vegan Society[8] in 1944, being vegan meant that you did not eat meat, eggs, dairy or honey, or use animal products. The use of animals as commodities was discouraged. The Vegan Society's manifesto from 1944 stated:

[8] The Vegan Society was the first known organization dedicated to veganism.

> The Vegan Society seeks to abolish man's [sic] dependence on animals, with its inevitable cruelty and slaughter, and to create instead a more reasonable and humane order of society (Stepaniak, 2000, p. 4).

While some people maintain a vegan diet for health and environmental benefits, being vegan is more of a lifestyle than a diet or environmentalism for others. Adams' (2010) definition goes beyond food, and defines veganism as "an ethical stance based on compassion for all beings" (113). Francione (2006a, 2006b & 2008) agrees, stating that vegans refuse to participate in the oppression of the innocent and the vulnerable (human and non-human), arguing that the proper starting point of an animal rights movement requires the philosophies of a vegan lifestyle.

It is important to consider this context when analyzing sanctuaries that advocate animal rights and oppose violence against animals, because humans interact frequently with sanctuary animals. Those with vegan lifestyles may interact differently than non-vegans. Exploring the differences and the ways both vegans and non-vegans socialize with sanctuary animals will contribute to understanding why some non-vegans physically interact the same as vegans with sanctuary animals, but speak of and view those animals differently. Francione argues that those who are not vegan but support animal rights are contradicting their beliefs. Furthermore, he declares that "new welfarists," those who protest for "more humane" treatment of animals, reject the vegan ideology of opposing exploitation and instead focus more on welfare and promoting more humane ways of treatment, instead of abolishing animal use. He compares this argument to human slavery, arguing that one cannot own a slave and also reject slavery,[9] demonstrating a divide between animal rights[10] and animal welfare.

There are some disagreements that back the idea that veganism and vegetarianism are damaging to the Earth and to the animals. In 1914, vegetarian and animal rights advocate Henry Salt argued that specific animals would not exist if humans did not use them for their products, thereby, suggesting that it is acceptable to exploit them for human

[9] http://www.abolitionistapproach.com/

[10] Animal rights activists are defined as "rightists" and differ from animal welfarists. While both are animal liberationists, welfarists have utilitarian views and rightists are abolitionists (Summer 1988; Regan 2005).

use. Philosopher R. M. Hare considered himself a "demi-vegetarian" (eating a small amount of meat and being selective of which kinds of meat is eaten), arguing that a short and happy life is better than no life at all, since there is no harm towards the animal; therefore, there must be no wrong doing (Hare 1993; Višak 2013). Lambin (2012) denies that global veganism would be beneficial to the planet arguing that cows, pigs, chickens and other animals that vegans do not consume would "disappear from the face of the earth" and believes that these animals would become "useless." (47). Another argument against global veganism is that many cultures have roots in practices that consist of killing and selling/trading animals and/or products and challenging these customary traditions would display judgement and cultural misinterpretation. Nibert (2013) disagrees, arguing that "just because an oppressive practice has cultural roots or significance […] does not mean it should be immune to criticism and movements for progressive change" (262). Nibert stresses that unjust cultural customs should be challenged.

Many scholars claim that veganism is overall beneficial to humans (Adams, Francione, Singer & Nibert). Even though Lambin (2012) argues that global veganism would cause the extinction of all farm animals, he concludes that compassion towards non-human animals contributes to global happiness, stating that "the happiness of some cannot be built on the unhappiness of others" (49). Lambin questions "can humans construct their well-being on the suffering of other living beings?" (39). Nibert (2013) agrees, stating that global veganism can improve "the quality of life in areas of the world marginalized after several hundred years of imperialist practices" (262).

d) Domestication of farm animals and the environment

Throughout popular discourse, farm animals are perceived to be everything from food, to fixtures in the landscape and it is common worldwide to see farm animals interacting with humans. Nomadic pastoralists herd goats in Kenya; the Highland cow is a central figure in the Scottish highlands; and in Kashi, India, pigs and chickens are some of the many species of domesticated animals that wander freely throughout city streets. With the rise of the animal rights movement, the role of farm animals and their place on the landscape is being examined more critically. Those concerned with problems of animal exploitation and

abuse are eliminating animal food and products from their lifestyles (Alexander, 2009; Ruby, 2012; Brady & Ventresca, 2014). Furthermore, they are advocating for changes in the farm landscape and fighting for the liberation of animals (Taylor & Twine, 2014).

Numerous authors agree that earth's natural environment is failing with livestock farming being one of the main culprits (Janzen 2011; Lambin 2012; Madeley 2002 & O'Mara 2011). The Food and Agriculture Organization of the United Nations (FAO) (2006) claims that livestock contribute extensively to climate change and the deterioration of the world's water, land and biodiversity resources. It is suggested that over the years livestock farming has driven deforestation and pollution of land, air and water (Janzen 2011; Lambin 2012; Madeley 2002; White 2013). White (2013) and Leakey (2010) further argue that trees are important ecosystem regulators. For instance, forests act as carbon sinks, contribute to biodiversity with both wild plants and animals and help prevent droughts and floods by absorbing rainwater and gradually releasing it to surround land (White 2013; Leakey 2010).

Studies also show that commercial farming also has social implications including disease and negative emotional responses (Ali 2001; Wang & Chang 2011). The *E. coli* epidemic in Walkerton, Ontario, Canada is a prime example of factory farms causing both ecological and social repercussions. Seven people died from drinking water that was contaminated by manure directly linked to factory farms and more than 2,300 people became ill (Ali 2004). Janzen (2011) agrees that livestock farming can be ecologically and socially damaging, but suggests that small amounts of manure can be beneficial for the land since manure can maintain soil fertility. Manure acts as a fertilizer and recycles nutrients from grazing farm animals to crop fields, a way of returning beneficial organic matter to the land (Janzen 2011). However, with the overwhelming amount of manure produced in a factory farm, soils cannot absorb the waste at a natural pace since it is typically applied to the land in an excessive amount (Ali 2004).

Various alternatives to the farm landscape are being proposed. Within critical animal studies and geography, the concept of "rewilding," the process of un-doing domestication, is gaining momentum and has been critically examined and applied to Heck

cattle in the Netherlands (Lorimer & Driessen, 2013). Rewilding also recently made headlines in a popular magazine (Tree, 2015). The concept when applied to farm animals suggests that de-domesticating can "rewild" the landscape and can assist with ecological restoration (Lorimer & Driessen, 2013). The idea of rewilding farm animals further adds to the complex issues surrounding animal rights and animal liberation. While the case of the Heck cattle was in the interest of nature conservation, it did not investigate the "safeness" of the inhabited landscape.

Hobby farms are proposed as another alternative. But while there are claims that hobby farming is more humane and ecologically friendly than commercial factory farms (Weis, 2007), it is argued that animals living on hobby farms are still evidentially viewed as consumable products and are in the middle of other human-animal relationships, which include "livestock" and "pets" (Holloway, 2001, p. 305). Many geographers, feminists, sociologists and anthropologists have examined human-animal relationships on hobby farms (Holloway, 2001; Wilkie, 2005; Haraway, 2008; Riley, 2011; Emel *et al.*, 2015), some critiquing human discourses and hierarchical inequality that suggest that humans are above all other animals and therefore, have the right to control all other animals (Holloway; Adams, 2001; Lundblad, 2012). Even the Bible mentions that animals are on the Earth to meet human needs, stating that "man" should rule over all other creatures (Genesis 1:26 New International Version). White (1967) argues that how humans foster ecology largely depends on how humans perceive themselves in relation to their non-human surroundings (similar to Lambin's "ecology of happiness") and the present ecological crisis (which Lambin argues can be partly solved with a better treatment of animals) will continue unless a new religion evolves, because White suggests that human ecology is profoundly habituated by beliefs about anthropological nature and destiny. Varied views on human-animal relationships have contributed to the problematic divide of animals as equals and animals as hierarchically different, which creates an intricate landscape.

Urbanik argues that the rural landscape has become a "complex, hybrid network" which blends humans, non-humans, and technology (Urbanik, 2012). Janzen (2011) agrees that it is a multifaceted place, arguing that within the rural landscape, farm animals are

more than consumable products and that grazing farm animals contribute to the landscape ecologically and socially. Scholars suggest that farm animals are more than just commoditized objects. Janzen (2011) and Goulding (2008) argue that farm animals are considered to be aesthetically pleasing to both locals and visitors and can attract tourists. Ecologically, farm animals can help sustain biodiversity and recycle nutrients; thus, proving to be more than objectified products (Janzen, 2011). Yarwood and Evans (1998) agree, suggesting that farm animals are part of the "rural identity" and are important individuals on the landscape, contributing to more than just marketable products (p. 159). They further argue that farmers in the United Kingdom play a large role in curating the rural landscape, and farm-parks have become a new place where farm animals can be bred, preserved and not consumed.

Overall, the rural landscape is host to a variety of different spaces for farm animals, including sanctuaries where animals that have experienced inadequate care in previous spaces are given refuge (Briefer & McElligott, 2013). While sanctuaries do hold some degree of human control over animals (prohibited breeding and keeping them in enclosures), they provide a potentially safe space for the farm animals that humans once domesticated and continue to claim as property (Anderson, 1997), in a possible attempt to reverse the "wrong we have done" (Gruen, 2011) without the complete rewilding of these non-humans.

e) Sanctuaries & "Safe" Spaces

The idea of safe spaces for non-human animals has not been examined within academia. However there is a broad spectrum of research on safe spaces for humans. The concept of safe spaces for humans tends to be historically rooted in the gay rights and feminist movements of the mid-1960s. Kenney (2001) studied gay and lesbian communities in Los Angeles, noting that safe spaces for gays and lesbians are places where "gay bashing" and anti-homosexualism are not expected nor feared. Hanhardt (2013) examined how safe spaces were integrated into urban neighbourhoods, tracing grassroots movements in the United States from 1965-2005. Millman (1977) identifies a safe space for humans as a space where humans are "protected from harm, risk, loss, attack or injury" (5).

The Roestone Collective (2014) suggests that the idea of safety is dependent on the threat of violence. Furthermore, safe spaces for humans have been described as spaces that are free of control, protected from outside society and a place where unspoken hierarchies can be challenged (Evans & Boyt, 1992; Gamson, 1996; Roestone Collective, 2014). The Roestone Collective agrees that a space can never be completely safe, but is a site for "negotiating difference and challenging oppression."

Spaces such as farm sanctuaries may be free of violence, but non-humans are still controlled by humans, thus limiting the choices of the non-humans and reinforcing hierarchical obstacles (Emel, et al., 2015). Animals are routinely subject to violence, oppression and hierarchical injustice. The slaughtering of animals is part of a whole culture of oppression and customary violence and the objectification of animals is parallel to the objectification of women (Adams 2010). Adams critically compares the dairy industry to the sexual exploitation of female bodies. Cows' reproductive systems are controlled; calves are removed from their mothers shortly after birth for humans to use milk from the udders for their own consumption; and cows are artificially inseminated and forced to be pregnant to give birth in order for humans to view purpose of these animals (Singer & Mason 2006). Furthermore, Adams directly links the slaughter of animals to violence against women. Mason and Finelli (2006) explain that in intensive farm operations the tails of cows are partially amputated, nursing pigs are confined in gestation crates which prevents them from moving or grooming themselves or their piglets, chickens have the tips of their beaks burned off to prevent them from pecking at one another due to boredom, stress and fear; and male chicks are ground up live or suffocated in a plastic bag because males do not lay eggs; therefore, they are not useful to the industry.

As animals also suffer from oppression, violence, objectification and fear, it is helpful to borrow the concept of safe spaces from its human-focused use and modify it to correspond to animal spaces. Taking inspiration from animal rights, safe spaces should not be constructed for humans only, but for non-humans as well.

With activism a key ingredient in the creation of safe spaces for humans, is it fitting for activists to shape safe spaces for non-humans? Gruen (2011) argues that humans have

an obligation to prevent the suffering of animals and that sanctuaries, regardless of minimal human control, are somewhat ideal safe spaces for wild animals. These particular sanctuaries provide refuge for those rescued from deprivation and suffering. Within the sanctuaries, the animals are given the opportunity to socialize with others of their kind, make choices and preserve some of their wildness. For domesticated farm animals, sanctuaries provide a similar experience: those rescued from abuse are able to socialize with others, make choices and in their case, regain (instead of preserve) their natural abilities which are oppressed within abusive spaces. Chickens get to live longer, forage for food, build nests and bond with their young (Gruen 2011; Mason & Finelli 2006). Pigs are highly intelligent animals and bore easily. Within sanctuaries they are able to exhibit natural behaviours of rolling, foraging and running, eliminating the urge to pace, and constantly chew when no food is present (Gruen 2011; Mason & Finelli 2006). Like chickens, pigs are able to live a full life in sanctuaries. On working farms, cows are constantly pregnant and produce milk for human consumption for several years. When they are deemed useless for dairy, they are then promptly slaughtered. Furthermore, in the majority of dairy farms, cows are prohibited from walking and remain tied. This denies a cow of movement; thus, muscle development is slowed (Gruen 2011; Mason & Finelli 2006). In sanctuaries, cows are never forcibly impregnated and are encouraged to graze in fields, allowing for exercise and natural behaviours. Lastly, it is important to take a caveat from Halberstam (2012), who argues that safe spaces assume specific groups of humans require protection and their integration into "non-safe" spaces should be reduced. Halberstam argues that not all LGBT people are suicidal or subject to violence and bullying. This case should be considered when analyzing safe spaces for non-humans: outside of organized safe spaces, not all non-humans are subject to abuse or fear the unknown.

Is a sanctuary a "safe space" for animals? In humanities and social sciences, a "safe space" has been defined as a space that allows "the development of an oppositional culture" (Gamson 1996). Can this designation be crossed into animal geography? What is a safe space for animals? If a safe space for humans is considered free of control, protected from outside society and a place where unspoken hierarchies can be challenged, than this type of safe space might just exist for domesticated farm animals (Evans & Boyt 1992; Gamson

1996; Roestone Collective 2014). A sanctuary could be a safe space for farm animals; however, a this type of space can never be completely free of hierarchies. Even though the intentions of sanctuaries are compassion-based, animals' choices remain restricted (Emel *et al* 2015). Sanctuary animals are not consumed and are free to roam without harm; however, their breeding is managed or prohibited entirely. A space that is completely free of control may not exist for domesticated animals, but humans' decision to domesticate thousands of years ago might not be able to be reversed.

To develop an approach to determine whether spaces like sanctuaries can be considered "safe" for animals, I build from Wilkie's work (2005). Whereas her associations focus on spaces such as hobby farms and intensive farming, this research will integrate these concepts within sanctuaries and substitute farmer for animal care volunteer.[11] I will use this study to develop my argument that vegan ideologies shape animal sanctuaries and that it is important for volunteers to display what Wilkie considers "attached attachments" in a human/animal relationship for a sanctuary to be deemed safe.

More research on vegan ideologies and safe spaces is needed in the field of animal geography. My research will investigate sanctuaries as potential safe spaces for farm animals while focusing on the interspecies relationships within these spaces. Lambin (2012) argues that to preserve a healthy environment and a close connection with nature, one must maintain positive altruistic relationships with animals. Our relationships with animals reflect our relationship with nature, which Lambin argues contributes to the "ecology of happiness." Drawing on scholarship that investigates veganism and animal liberation (Adams; Francione; Singer; Taylor), as well as the strong body of scholarship that examines safe spaces (Gamson; Kenney), I will contribute an original perspective to this literature by revealing the safeness of sanctuaries and the vegan ideologies that shape these spaces by examining the question: *Are sanctuaries safe spaces?*

[11] Wilkie's farmer-animal association will be explained further in Methodology.

Chapter III: Methodology

a) Positionality

My exploration into animal sanctuaries informally began one year before this research started. In 2013 I founded a not-for-profit foster-based animal rescue.[12] This organization relies on foster homes for animals saved from abuse, neglect and abandonment. Unlike the organizations examined in this study, there is no permanent location for a sanctuary. However, there are similarities and my experience coordinating animal care volunteers is parallel to my analysis of animal care volunteers at sanctuaries. While my rescue organization focuses on what our community is most concerned with – common Canadian animal companions (cats, dogs, rabbits, guinea pigs and horses, to name a few) – it is still considered "vegan-inspired," meaning that it is "a cruelty-free organization" and "the human consumption of animal meat or bi-products is not encouraged."[13] Furthermore, as a "vegan-inspired" organization we do not promote fundraisers that serve non-vegan food.

Working with our volunteers I frequently inquire about their interests in animal care. Most claim they want to help because "they love animals." There are 46 volunteers (including myself); three are vegan and one is vegetarian. Around the same time that I founded the rescue organization I personally made the switch from vegetarian to vegan (both diet and lifestyle). I felt that if I was to be a director of an animal rescue organization it would be contradictory to consume animals when I am trying to assist them. I further examined the differences between animal rights and animal welfare to better understand my volunteers. Are animals safe if the people caring for them do not demonstrate an attached attachment? Would it be more beneficial to the animals if our volunteers embraced vegan ideologies? These interactions and questions led me to further investigate safe spaces for domesticated animals and if the animals we assist are indeed safe which led to the inspiration of this thesis.

[12] Roy and Cher's Animal Rescue / www.royandcher.org
[13] www.royandcher.org/about.html (2016)

Despite my vegan beliefs, while interviewing and interacting with volunteers at the sanctuaries for this research I took a neutral stance to allow for a more open dialogue and to encourage honesty and to prevent a barrier from forming between researcher and participant. I believe that my personal experiences with animal care volunteers and hands-on experience with abused and neglected animals provided important first-hand knowledge into a lesser-known field of study.

b) Vegan Ideologies

Three major vegan ideologies were used as a basis to determine how safe sanctuaries are:

- Compassion for all beings
- Opposing exploitation
- Opposing violence against animals

Volunteers at two farm animal sanctuaries were observed and interviewed to determine if they followed these ideologies. I spent a few days at each sanctuary and participated in daily chores with the volunteers. During chores I had conversations with volunteers inquiring about their views, and their reasons for volunteering. Typically these interactions were unstructured and questions were largely spontaneous, as would be the case in a natural conservation. Through these conversations I gained a better idea of the ideologies of the volunteers. Furthermore, each volunteer filled out a questionnaire which had specific questions in regards to his or her views. Some of the questions included: Do you have a vegan diet? Do you follow a vegan lifestyle? Do animals exist for humans to use? These key questions help determine if the volunteers exhibit compassion for all beings, are opposed to exploitation and are against violence towards animals. Those who follow a vegan lifestyle were grouped into the rightist category. Those who are vegetarian and do not believe animals exist for humans to use were grouped into the rightist category. Volunteers who are vegetarian and believe that animals exist for humans to use were categorized as welfarists. Once the type of animal concern was determined, they were grouped within the four categories of Wilkie's attached attachment framework. Those who were rightists were grouped into the attached attachment category. Welfarist volunteers were grouped into concerned attachment or concerned detachment depending on their responses to why they

volunteer at the sanctuary and how they interacted with the animals. Those who did not exhibit an emotional attachment to the animals were grouped into concerned detachment while volunteers who were unsure if animals exist for human use and who believe that it is acceptable to raise animals for eggs and milk were grouped into concerned attachment.

c) Attached Attachment

Wilkie's (2005) framework focuses on the commodification of farm animals within different spaces and includes four degrees of farmer-animal associations: 1) *concerned detachment*; 2) *detached detachment*; 3) *concerned attachment*; and 4) *attached attachment*. She concludes that commercial productions tend to demonstrate levels of detachment; whereas, hobby farms are typically characterized by levels of attachment. Table 2 describes each level of attachment.

Level of Farmer-Animal Associations	Description
Concerned detachment	commercial workers regard livestock as "sentient commodities"
Detached detachment	commercial workers who do not feed or look after animals (ex. slaughterhouses)
Concerned attachment	where farm animals are decommodified but can be recommodified at any time
Attached attachment	animals remain decommodified

Table 2. Description of Wilkie's framework of human-livestock relations

Wilkie explains that this assessment is apparent in spaces where animals are "decommodified but can be recommodified at any time" (228). Now, while farm animals are considered legal property, in her 2010 book *Livestock/Deadstock*, Wilkie considers how farm animals are also perceived as non-commodities. She indicates that these non-commodities can be re-commodified, suggesting that this way of thinking and acting is contradictory and contemplates how those who work with farm animals interact with and separate themselves from the commodified animals. This inspires her to choose to use the term "sentient commodity" to link both mental and emotional efforts.

This research draws on Wilkie's framework, but applies it to animal care volunteers at sanctuaries and their attachment/detachment to the animals. For this purpose I produced a modified chart as explained in Table 3.

Level of Farmer-Animal Associations	**Description**
Concerned detachment	Animal care volunteers regard farm animals as emotional beings, but believe that they are all here for humans to use. They may not recognize (or deny) that the animal products they eat are associated with violence. These volunteers are not vegan and not rightists, but can be welfarists.
Detached detachment	Since all participants volunteer with animals, this association does not apply with this proposed research.
Concerned attachment	Animal care volunteers regard farm animals as emotional beings, but display a different level of attachment to the animals in the sanctuary compared to the animals that they eat. These volunteers may be vegetarian, but not vegan. These volunteers are more likely to be welfarists.
Attached attachment	Animal care volunteers regard farm animals as emotional beings and do not believe that animals are to be used by humans. They display the three vegan ideologies: compassion for all beings; and the opposition of exploitation and violence. They are vegans and rightists.

Table 3. Modified version of Wilkie's framework of human-livestock relations. Adapted to suit this research.

The field study for this project included participatory research at two farm animal sanctuaries that will not be named as their participation in the study was contingent on remaining anonymous. This research employed mixed methods for data collection. As reported below, the qualitative methods used in this research included observation and interviews with volunteers and directors; the quantitative methods involved questionnaires.

d) Qualitative

Methods acquired from ethnography and ethology were used to observe both animal and human behaviours within the spaces of the two sanctuaries.

Ethnography and interviews

During my visits to the sanctuaries in question, I observed the interactions between humans and non-humans and made notes in regards to actions that reflected or did not reflect vegan ideologies and Wilkie's levels of attached attachment – using my modified version of her framework of analysis. I also conducted 28 semi-structured open-ended interviews with volunteers and directors, inquiring about their beliefs and reasons for volunteering at the sanctuaries. These interviews were informal and conducted as conversations with volunteers and directors while they performed their chores at the sanctuaries and assisted with the animal care duties. This informal interviewing method allowed for a dialogue between participant and researcher. The dialogue opened up opportunities to learn more about the participants' sanctuary experiences, and the interactions between volunteer and animal. Participating in the everyday chores of the sanctuaries put me into the shoes of the volunteers whose ideologies I also explored. I was able to witness a connection between volunteers' vegan beliefs (or lack of) and their reasons for volunteering with the animals. I conducted semi-structured interviews with the director of both sanctuaries to obtain general background information about each location. I observed 28 animal care volunteers in total. I spent three days at each sanctuary and observed for 20 hours at one sanctuary and 15 hours at the other for 35 hours in total. I observed 69 non-human animals at one sanctuary and 129 at the other sanctuary for a total of 198 non-humans. Most of these animals were observed in group settings. For example, the 11 sheep and one llama are in the same pasture at one of the sanctuaries. These animals were observed as a group.

Ethology

Seymour and Wolch (2010) recommend the use of ethological methods in animal geography research when examining human-animal relationships. In this research, therefore, humans and non-humans were regarded as co-actants, negotiating life in response to each other within confined spaces. I observed human-animal interactions without bias, focusing on how the human and non-human interacted. Boissy et al. (2007) argue that good welfare is the existence of positive occurrences; therefore, I looked more for positive experiences than negative for the non-human interactions. The study conducted by Boissy, et al (2007) indicates that play behaviour is positive and can be suppressed in "harsh and unfavourable" surroundings (387). Furthermore, they argue that play behaviour is also eliminated due to castration in lambs and cold weather for pigs, but the presence of the motivation of play implies that the animals are displaying positive emotional behaviours. Most piglets, growing pigs, calves, lambs and goats will demonstrate both locomotor play (moving the body from place to place, jumping, and running) and social play, two observable positive behaviours that demonstrate animals in good health. Other indicators for positive emotions include: allogrooming (social grooming) and self-grooming (although self-grooming is more common among animals kept alone in enclosures); and eating and drinking (The Humane Society of the United States 2016; Boissy, et al. 2007). Furthermore, volunteer interviews with volunteers also helped me understand why the animals are at the sanctuary, and if their behaviour has changed since arriving.

e) Quantitative

The questionnaire for volunteers and the interview questions for directors (see Appendix I) contained 11 quantitative questions ~~(~~and four qualitative questions~~)~~. Several of the quantitative questions provided me with an idea of how many volunteers were vegan versus how many were not. Other quantitative questions inquired about where the volunteers lived (rural, urban, suburbs, agricultural farm) and how long the participants been volunteering at the particular sanctuary). These statistics complemented my

qualitative findings by offering an insight of how each individual sanctuary influences its volunteers' beliefs.

f) Limitations

Due to travel distance, I was only able to visit the sanctuaries on particular days. There were a lot of the same volunteers on the days I was able to conduct research. This prevented the research from providing more valuable findings, particularly with location B where I was only able to observe and interview 10 volunteers. Furthermore, it was not guaranteed which volunteer would be at location B. There was no set schedule. Volunteers showed up whenever it was best for them. Location A had a more regular volunteer schedule; therefore, I was able to be at the sanctuary for four days and meet 16 different volunteers. It was luck of the draw for location B. I went four different days over one month and met a limited number of volunteers.

Also, throughout the research location B brought in more non-farm animals (cats and dogs) and at the end of the research, location B was less of a farm animal sanctuary and more of an animal sanctuary (for all kinds).

There are not a lot of farm animal sanctuaries with more than ten regular volunteers within Ontario. I was limited to Ontario due to budget and time constraints. Although it was not the initial intent, the small sample size (two case studies) was not substantial to produce a statistically significant survey. The case studies were intended to provide perspectives and contribute to a beginning of what can be a more researched field of study.

I focused on the human-animal relationships in this research, particularly the intentions and beliefs of the animal care volunteers, instead of the actual behaviours of the non-humans. I chose to concentrate on the intentions and beliefs of the volunteers, because I am interested in how vegan ideologies play a role in the shaping of spaces. If time allowed, I would have also applied more ethology practices and fully observed the behaviours of the animals. Other forms of measurement and comparisons could have included the financial transactions of each sanctuary and how funding is distributed throughout the organizations, as well as how the cleanliness of the facilities played a role in the

measurement of safeness. I did not allow for much emphasis on these other capacities due to time restrictions. I do think that these other behaviours would be a good addition (and definitely something to consider) for future studies of this nature.

Chapter IV: Findings

This chapter reports my findings regarding the two sanctuaries that I visited; one that identifies as a sanctuary that is driven by rightist ideologies and one that operates as a sanctuary involved predominantly with animal welfare principles. At both sanctuaries, I

a) Participated in animal husbandry with volunteers while speaking to them about their beliefs and understanding of safe spaces;
b) Observed the relationship between human and non-human animals;
c) Interviewed the director of the sanctuary to help understand the goals, focus and ideologies of the sanctuary;
d) Critically questioned the sanctuary as a "safe" space;
e) Gave questionnaires to volunteers to collect both qualitative and quantitative data in regards to veganism, farm animals and safe spaces.

This research was conducted using two sanctuaries. For the purpose of the following discussion, these are referred to simply as the "rights" and the "welfare" sanctuaries. The directors of both locations were interviewed to determine the sanctuary's mission. Location A was deemed a "rights" sanctuary due to its stance on animal rights issues and vegan-inspired events; whereas, Location B was considered a "welfare" sanctuary attributable to its non-vegan fundraisers and its open mission to educate people on animal welfare opposed to animal rights. The findings will further describe the dissimilarities and similarities between the two sanctuaries.

A) Rights Sanctuary

The "rights sanctuary" (Location A), located in rural Ontario approximately 80km from a major city centre, defines itself as a farm animal sanctuary and a centre for healing and personal growth. This sanctuary provides a permanent home for rescued farm animals as well as several cats; however, its focus is on farm animals. Unlike location B (the "welfare sanctuary"), location A is not regularly open to the public. The doors are open only for sanctuary tours, other events and educational programs. Some of the events include animal communication workshops, yoga and meditation classes, and summer camps for children. Location A is a registered charity and receives the majority of its funds through tax-deductible donations. It also raises money through fundraisers including galas, "yogathons" and vegan food tastings. Location A publically advocates for animal rights. All of the fundraisers are vegan, encourage vegan ideologies and take place on site.

i) Non-Humans

During the period that the research was conducted, Location A provided a forever home for 69 non-humans, a total that can be further divided as shown in Figure 1, where it can be seen that the predominant categories were bovine and pigs.

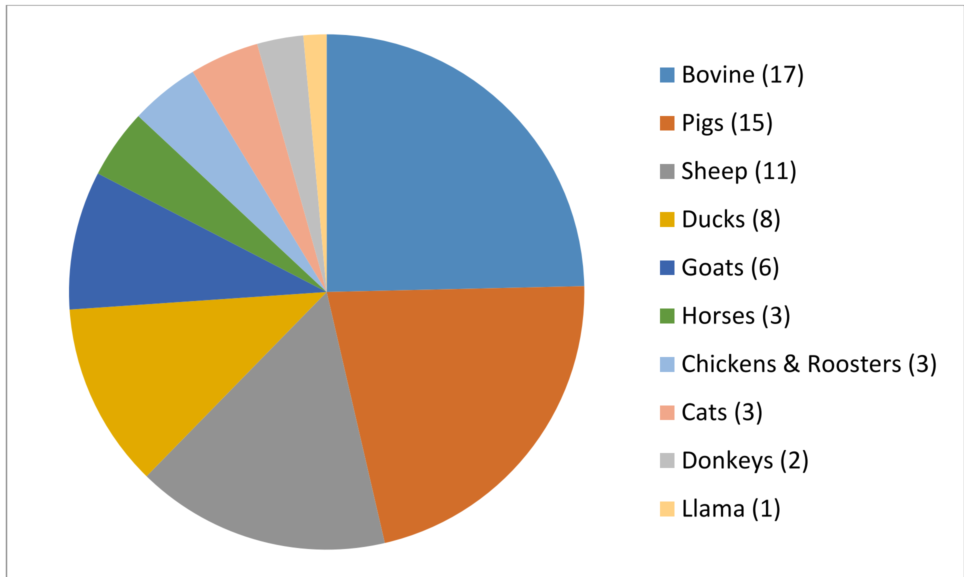

Figure 1. Species of non-humans living at Location A.[14]

Several of these animals were rescued from abusive situations, which includes physical abuse, neglect and abandonment. Some of the rescues involved animal control and Ontario Society for the Prevention of Cruelty to Animals (OSPCA) investigations. The following were rescued from abusive situations:

Horse: 1 (33%)
Bovine: 9 (53%)
Pigs: 4 (27%)
Llama: 1 (100%)
Goats: 2 (33%)
Sheep: 2 (18%)

[14] For this research cows, buffalo, bison and yaks are grouped together in the subfamily bovine. These species co-exist together in the same field at both sanctuaries.

Life Histories

The sample size is limited for each species and varies considerably. It would not be statistically significant to compare the percentages of each species to determine the vulnerability for abuse; however, it is important to analyze each abused species to get a better understanding of the sanctuary, the non-humans, and the volunteers.

Of all the non-humans listed as abused, two were physically beaten: one horse and one llama. The remaining listed abused animals were rescued from neglect, which includes starvation and unsanitary living conditions. But what defines animal abuse? A non-vegan's definition may vary from a vegan's view. Situations from location A illustrate abuse as physically inflicting pain, starvation, and unsanitary living conditions. Criminologist Piers Beirne (1999) defined animal abuse as pain and suffering, violating rights and oppression. The OSPCA, a welfarist organization funded by the Ontario provincial government, defines neglect and intentional harm as animal cruelty. Its website defines neglect as "the failure to provide adequate water, food, shelter or necessary care."[15] Rightist organization People for the Ethical Treatment of Animals (PETA) takes into account more than just physical and mental pain. PETA includes the following as a form of abuse: eating animals, experimenting on animals, and using animals for entertainment.[16] One of the coordinating volunteers at location A looks beyond the infliction of physical pain: "When I determine what is abusive, I not only look at the physical abuse as in starving and beating, I looked at neglect and horrible living conditions as well as animal control and OSPCA investigations." Another volunteer explained that oppression was a large part of defining abuse. Looking beyond the physical abuse is a characteristic of rightists and demonstrates vegan ideologies.

Are some species more susceptible to abuse than others? Wise (2008) argues that the most abused beings in the United States are those who are raised and killed for food.[17] One hundred percent of the volunteers interviewed at location A agreed with this claim.

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[15] http://ontariospca.ca/what-we-do/investigations/animal-cruelty-glossary.html?_ga=1.52990124.543231376.1465159148
[16] http://www.peta.org/issues/
[17] Wise, Steven M. (2008). An Argument for the Basic Legal Rights of Farmed Animals. *Michigan Law Review First Impressions 106*(133). http://repository.law.umich.edu/mlr_fi/vol106/iss1/4 (accessed June 12, 2016).

One volunteer stated that the “food animals” were seen more as “objects” and less as “beings”.

In addition to the abused non-humans, six of the animals were saved from being consumed by humans: five of the pigs were slaughter truck rescues and one lamb was brought to location A from a farm that raises lambs for meat. The two piglets were found in someone’s backyard. They arrived at location A as temporary residents while animal services searched for their “owners”. The piglets eventually became permanent residents. Abandonment can also be considered a form of abuse; however, it is unknown if the two piglets were actually abandoned. They may have escaped a farm. Two of the three horses were retired carriage horses, who would have otherwise have gone to a slaughterhouse. Vegan ideologies would typically consider horse carriages an unethical and abusive form of entertainment that relies on animal exploitation; however, the two horses at location A were rescued after retiring from pulling carriages; thus, the two retired horses are not grouped with the animals rescued from abuse.

None of the animals had major noticeable physical injuries, other than minor scrapes when they arrived. However, all of the volunteers agree that all of the rescued animals have emotional scarring. One of the young goats is still very shy, but one volunteer commented that she is “improving.” Also, one of the large pigs can sometimes be aggressive due to his past abuse. A domesticated animal with good emotional or mental health will be able to “effectively function, learn and adapt in everyday life” (The Humane Society of the United States 2016). According to the The Humane Society of the United States (2016), emotionally healthy animals “regularly express serenity, joy, playfulness and excitement” and if confronted by a traumatic event, “they are able to cope, and they bounce back without remaining anxious or on edge.” Emotionally healthy animals can experience stress, fear, anxiety, anger, depression, and frustration, but unlike emotionally *unhealthy* animals, emotionally healthy animals can rebound from these negative emotional states without prolonged anxiety (The Humane Society of the United States 2016).

From my own observations while at location A, I did not witness any obvious emotional scarring. (I was looking for animals still shy and nervous around humans, food

aggression, offensive behaviour and lethargy – behaviour evidence of emotional scarring.) It could have been that none of the abused animals arrived close to the time I was there and I was unable to witness a newly rescued animal from an abusive situation. However, after I was instructed to not enter the pig enclosure with the adult pigs, because "they are strong and can be aggressive with food", volunteers later told me that this was due to the natural behaviour of the pigs and not due to their history. The space created in location A is therefore designed to induce less stress for the animals. The two piglets were the most recent rescues and they showed no signs of physical or emotional abuse. However, they did suckle on my clothes when I sat in the straw with them and they squealed when I moved them off of me so I could stand up, behaviours that might indicate that the pigs were weaned too early (Weary, *et al* 1999). A study conducted by Weary *et al* (1999) concludes that "separation distress and frustration of suckling motivation" can occur when piglets are separated from their mothers at less than 4 weeks of age (289). All of the animals exhibited either locomotor or social play; and allogrooming or self-grooming; and all ate and drank water.

All of the animals at location A are permanent residents. While the sanctuary will adopt out some of the animals, according to the director I interviewed, it would only be to a carefully screened home. Location A does not actively promote adoptions on its website or social media. Farm animals are not typically known as adoptable animals given their status as "farmed" animals. However, the sanctuary is home to a more commonly adoptable species. As figure 1 demonstrates, location A has three cats (non-farm animals). These cats were brought to the sanctuary as trap-neuter-return (TNR) feral cats. However it turned out that the cats were tame and not feral. They are permanent residents. The lack of non-farm animals at location A can indicate that this rightist location is more concerned about the most abused animal in North America: animals raised for consumption. The director indicated that more education is required on the oppressed lives of farm animals. One volunteer mentioned that there are a lot of rescue organizations for cats and dogs, but "the world needs more sanctuaries for farmed animals."

ii) Volunteers

Location A has approximately 50 volunteers. Over the four days of my visit, 16 volunteers (32%) were given questionnaires and interviewed. Many of these volunteers keep the same shift every week. The volunteers were required to clean the barns, feed the animals, and socialize with the animals inside the pens. One day when there were no volunteers for a couple of hours, I asked the director if there was anything I could do. She asked me to hang out with the new piglets. I was required to sit in the straw with the pigs and help socialize them. This did not surprise me because location A advocates interconnectedness with all life; therefore, a positive relationship between human and non-human is promoted to all visitors and interactions between humans and non-humans is encouraged. Location A brings all visitors into the pens to meet some of the goats, sheep and pigs. Asking me to interact with the piglets was not only therapeutic for myself but also provides socialization for the piglets so that when they meet the public during visits, they are not scared, nervous or anti-social. During our interview, the director informed me that during sanctuary tours guests are educated about the animals through interacting with them. They learn about the animals' personalities and this "dispels myths about their innate characteristics" which can feed into the objectification of these animals. Visitors are able to witness pigs playing and running around with one another -- traits that volunteers compare to more common animal companions such as dogs.

What type of people volunteer?

On the questionnaire I used (see Appendix I), each volunteer was asked to classify him or herself as vegan, vegetarian or neither. Volunteers were also asked if they have a vegan lifestyle[18]. Out of the 16 volunteers, eight (50%) have a vegan diet and live a vegan lifestyle. One of those vegan volunteers commented: "We research everything we eat and buy." Of the remaining eight volunteers, five have a vegetarian diet. Only three volunteers consume and use animal products. It is important to note that while location A is a vegan

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[18] On the questionnaire, a vegan lifestyle was defined as someone who does not purposely use products derived from animals (leather, wool). Also, do not support events that use animals for entertainment and/or monetary gain (zoos, circuses, farm fairs). Volunteers were reminded that many wines, cosmetics and body products contain ingredients derived from animals.

sanctuary, volunteers are not required to be vegan; however, they must respect veganism while at the sanctuary. During my visit, I did overhear some vegan volunteers chatting to non-vegans about vegan food, but there was no sign of animosity or of forcing one to change their views.

Vegans/Vegetarians

The majority of vegan diet/lifestyle participants were volunteers who had been at location A for more than one year. One vegan volunteer described how she was not vegan or vegetarian when she started volunteering. Being with the farm animals has changed her views: "I am now familiar with the killing, torturing and abuse of animals that is needed for the consumption of food for humans. I do not support this." Not only has she become vegan, she remains a volunteer at the sanctuary because she is "extremely attached to the animals, the volunteers and the sanctuary's mandate." Although she grew up in a rural environment, she was never exposed to farm animals. She professes that because of this, she wanted to do anything she could to help and "be connected to the sanctuary."

Two volunteers (husband and wife) started volunteering because their son was interested. The mother explained to me that two years after their family went vegan (herself, husband, son and daughter), her son felt he wanted to do more for the animals so she looked up sanctuaries and discovered location A. They have been volunteering at location A for more than two years. "We have learned so much and come to know this sanctuary as our second home." While the son and daughter do not volunteer as much as they did two years ago, the husband and wife continue to volunteer regularly.

During my visit to location A I was involved in a conversation with a vegan who horseback rides. This form of "entertainment" is typically opposed by abolitionist vegans and she was concerned that the "more extreme vegans" would frown upon her choice. This vegan horseback rider explained that there is a respectful bond between horse and human and riding is not much different than walking a dog companion. She does not use whips or other devices which can cause harm to the horse. Other vegans at location A explained to me their view that horseback riding is a form of exploitation. However, the topic began when I was feeding the sanctuary's horses with the vegan horseback rider, her horseback

riding daughter, one vegan who believes that horseback riding is cruel, and a vegetarian who had no opinion. When the horseback riding vegan mentioned to me out loud that she rides and is conflicted with her choice, there was no response from the others and they continued to care for the horses together.[19] While there are different types of vegans, the vegan volunteers at location A were not all alike; however, they did share the same food eating principles and demonstrated the three central vegan ideologies: compassion for all beings, and opposing exploitation and violence against animals.

Non-Vegan/Vegetarians

It is interesting that there are three volunteers at the rightist sanctuary who consume and use animal products but donate their time to a sanctuary that advocates for the elimination of this behaviour. Two of these volunteers have been at location A for 6 months and the third volunteer has been donating her time for under one year. The former volunteers are a husband and wife who started volunteering at location A, because their vegetarian daughter volunteers. The mother stated:

> Volunteering here is a great way for us to be together as a family […] She also suffers from mental health issues and volunteering here gives her a sense of fulfillment and peace.

Two of the non-vegan/vegetarian participants believe that it is humane to raise animals for milk and eggs. One of these volunteers said that being at the sanctuary may change her views and they do think about becoming vegan. Of the three meat eaters, all three mentioned that it was humane for animals to be on farms for their milk and eggs; however, even though these volunteers eat meat, they did not mention if raising animals for meat was appropriate.

There is another participant who is neither vegetarian nor vegan, but volunteers with his daughter. His reason for volunteering is to "spend time with my daughter who volunteers fairly regularly and to enjoy the outdoors and to spend time with animals." When I met this volunteer he displayed a welfarist position; however, he noted that

[19] For this research horses when ridden by vegans, is not considered a form of exploitation since their argument is viable.

spending time at the sanctuary with farm animals had an impact on him. He explained the emotional influence: "Healthy animals that are well cared for are beautiful and full of life. It is fulfilling to see animals that are not exclusively for the use of human products." As an urbanite, before volunteering with his daughter, he had never been up close to a farm animal that was not being raised on a commercial farm. While he was conflicted with his choice to consume animals, he accepted the concept of raising animals for dairy products. Nonetheless, he claimed that his perspective may change and he hinted that becoming vegan was a foreseeable option. He was the only volunteer at location A who was unsure if positive human/animal relationships are fundamental to global happiness.

Ultimately there is only one participant at location A who is not vegan or vegetarian and does not volunteer at the sanctuary with friends and family. This participant defines their reasoning as follows: to "develop interests [… to …] pursue[a] dream of owning [a] small animal sanctuary. It's one way to be involved - contribute to a cause I believe in." When questioned about their definition of a safe space for farm animals, this participant suggested it is a place where animal "needs are met;" where food, water and shelter are provided with "love and affection." While the majority of volunteers at location A display a attached attachment, it appears that the non-vegan/non-vegetarian participant illustrates a "welfarist" attitude and is concerned specially about animal welfare instead of animal rights, demonstrating concerned attachment. When I met this volunteer they had been volunteering at the sanctuary for less than six months. It is quite possible that this volunteer has become (or will become) a rightist due to the pattern of volunteers who have been at the sanctuary longer. Three participants mentioned becoming vegetarian or vegan after volunteering at the sanctuary for several months. To help determine what type of attachment/detachment a volunteer exhibits, their vegan beliefs are considered as well as their concern for animals. This is categorized as welfarist and rightists. Vegans tend to be rightists and non-vegans who volunteer with rescued animals tend to be welfarists. Table 3 illustrate how many volunteers are welfarists or rightists at both sanctuaries.

	Welfarists	Rightists
Location A	12.50%	87.50%
Location B	90%	10%

Table 4. Percentage of volunteers who are either welfarists or rightists at both location A and location B.

iii) Vegan ideologies

Thus far I have examined location A in regards to animal welfare and animal rights and established which volunteers are rightists or welfarists. To determine the safeness of sanctuaries, it is also important to consider the vegan ideologies of the volunteers (or lack of). Figure 2 shows the percentage of volunteers who are vegan, vegetarian and those who are neither vegan nor vegetarian at both sanctuaries.

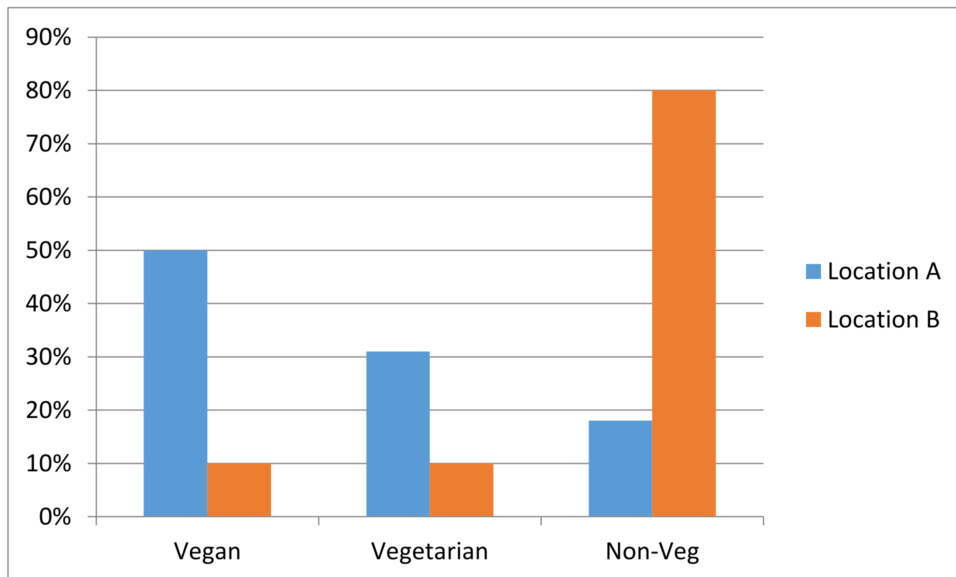

Figure 2. The percentage of volunteers who are either vegan or vegetarian or who are neither vegan nor vegetarian at both sanctuaries.

The three ideologies that this research focuses on are: compassion for all beings; opposing exploitation; and opposing violence against animals. From the interviews, questionnaires and observations I was able to determine which volunteers adhere to the

ideologies. Some volunteers were more easily determined than others. Some volunteers openly stated in their questionnaire that they opposed violence and exploitation and explained why (against zoos, circuses, leather, eating meat, and other forms of exploitation and violence). I had to carefully observe and concentrate on our conservations, in attempt to reveal the participants' stance on compassion for all beings. Many volunteers at location A responsively stated that all animal lives mattered and that they should all be treated equally with humans. For those who were not easy to read, their views concerning what is considered abuse were taken into consideration. All volunteers at location A demonstrated a concern for abused farm animals and agreed that infliction of pain contributed to both physical and mental abuse. Figure 2 displays the characteristics considered for determining the volunteers' associations to vegan ideologies.

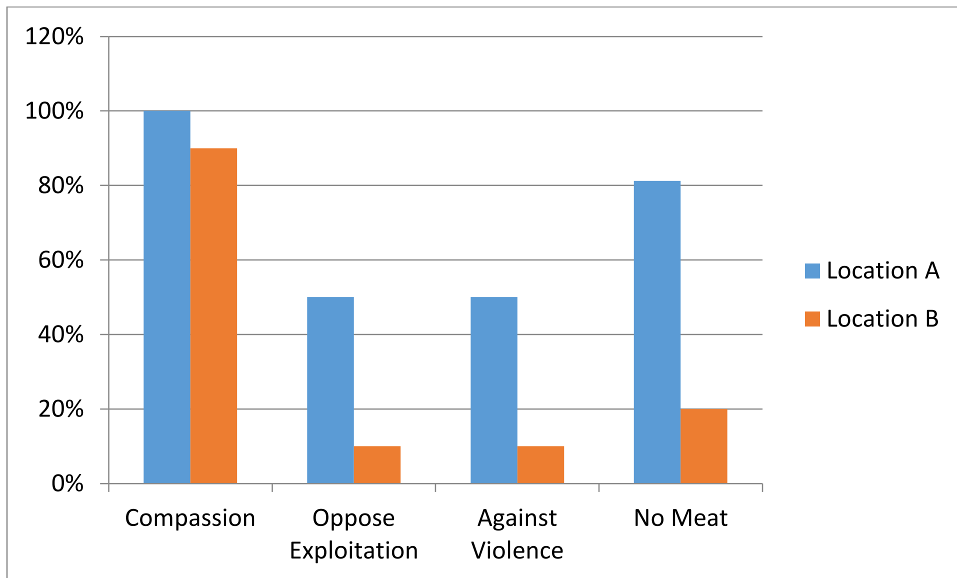

Figure 3. A comparison of the ideologies of volunteers at location A and location B.

iv) Safe Spaces?

Until now, I have analysed the types of animals at the sanctuary, the types of volunteers, the classification of the sanctuary and the vegan ideologies. These elements help determine the safeness of location A. For this section, I asked the volunteers to define a safe space for animals. Their responses contribute to the categorization of levels of attachment:

Vegan: I believe the only safe place for a domesticated animal is a sanctuary, that they should not be bred at all. It would be sad, but they should not exist.

Vegan: Home, sanctuaries and refuges.

Vegan: Two places come to mind. One are the domesticated animals such as cats, dogs, etc… who are in loving homes and cared for properly. The second is sanctuaries (especially farmed animals). They will be cared for and loved throughout their natural lives. Everywhere else you cannot be sure.

Vegan: Fed and free of external concerns

Vegan: A place free of harm, a place where the animal can express normal behaviours, live free and safe from dangers

Vegan: A sanctuary where they can live happy and safe lives. A good home.

Vegan: Sanctuaries and homes where animals are respected as well as loved, seen as companions and not used for profit.

Vegan: Safe place would be any area that they are loved and can exercise free will without any exploitation.

Vegetarian: A safe space for animals is a place where they can be happy and not harmed (not farms). Whether it's at a sanctuary or in the wild. A place where people are positive and loving around the animals.

Vegetarian: A place where the animals can roam free and are loved. A safe place for domesticated animals.

Vegetarian: A safe place for domesticated animals is a place that they're loved and cared for and can roam freely.

Vegetarian: A place that provides food, water and shelter. Somewhere they do not have to be scared of their own shadow.

Vegetarian: The space provided in places like this sanctuary. As well as both urban and rural houses that provide a safe and secure environment.

Non-Veg: A place like here is a perfect example of a safe space for domesticated animals. A place where animals are well-fed and cared for.

Non-Veg: The farm is a good example of a safe space for domesticated animals. Animals need a lot of care, a space to roam in. Nutritious food.

Non-Veg: One where their needs are met… food / H2O / shelter provided with love and affection

While all of the participants at location A demonstrate a concern for the welfare of farm animals, only a few show concern for the rights of the animals. Their comments go beyond an animal's need for the basic necessities. Their ideas of a safe space for farm animals also fit within vegan ideologies: "[…] seen as companions and not used for profit;" "[…] they are loved and can exercise free will without any exploitation;" "[…] where the animal can express normal behaviours […]." These volunteers view farm animals as more than an animal that requires proper care. They demonstrate compassion, and they oppose exploitation. It is interesting that some vegan comments are very similar to the non-vegan comments. In these situations, I had to closely observe their interactions with the animals and our conversations to determine if they were rightists or welfarists and which levels of attachment they exhibit.

v) Levels of Attachment

Reviewing the participant responses in regards to safe spaces helped determine whether or not volunteers were devoted to vegan ideologies. Volunteers were then categorized as rightists or welfarists. I then grouped the volunteers within the attachment framework. Acknowledging the participants' beliefs and actions as either vegan or non-vegan and rightist or welfarist assisted with classifying participants within the attachment framework. For example a vegan volunteer with a rightist attitude is categorized as exhibiting an attached attachment.

Vegan or Non-Vegan

Rightist or Welfarist

Attached or Detached Attachment or Attached or Detached Detachment

Safeness[20]

The levels of attachment for the participants were measured by their views of animal rights, animal welfare, vegan ideologies and their idea of a safe space for animals. The majority of volunteers at location A demonstrated attached attachment. Since location A is a rightist sanctuary, it is not surprising that most of the volunteers interviewed regard farm animals as emotional beings and do not believe that they are to be used by humans. Those who demonstrate attached attachment are both vegans and vegetarians. No volunteers at location A demonstrated concerned detachment and 12.5% demonstrated concerned attachment. The percentages for both locations can be viewed in Table 5. Those demonstrating concerned attachment regard farm animals as emotional beings, but disassociate the farm animals at the sanctuary and the farm animals that they eat.

	Concerned attachment	Attached attachment	Concerned detachment
Location A	12.5%	87.5%	0%
Location B	70%	10%	20%

Table 5. The categorization of volunteers within the Attachment framework.

[20] The safeness of both location A and location B will be discussed in the conclusion.

vi) Location A Summary

Taking in consideration the volunteers' lifestyles (vegan/not vegan), their beliefs (rightists/welfarists), their understanding of animal abuse, their detachment/attachment to the animals consumed in North America, and their acceptance of emotions in non-human animals, I categorized each volunteer at location A into either welfarist or rightists. At location A 12.5% of volunteers are welfarists and 87.5% are rightists; whereas, the volunteers at location B are 90% welfarists and 10% rightist (see Table 3).[21] I then used that information to classify the participants within the levels of attachment. At location A all of the rightists (87.5%) fit into attached attachment and all of the welfarists (12.5%) were classified as exhibiting concerned attachment. No participants interviewed and observed at location A exhibited concerned detachment.

[21] Details in regards to location B will be elaborated in Section C of Chapter 4.

B) Welfare Sanctuary

Location B can be defined as a sanctuary that rehabilitates abused or injured animals, and provides a permanent home for any unwanted animal, whether it be a farm or companion animal. Location B's website states that it aims to improve relations between animals and humans and to educate people to a higher level of understanding when it comes to any animal-related issue. When this research began, location B focused on providing sanctuary to rescued animals, mostly horses, cows, chickens, goats and sheep (farm animals). Since then, location B has seemed to be more focused on rehoming dogs (companion animals). The director of the sanctuary is associated with animal control and "unclaimed" dogs at the pound are given to location B for rehoming. One volunteer describes this structure as "a lovely system that has saved the lives of many dogs." While re-homing dogs is an important focus, location B still remains a sanctuary for both farm and companion animals. This sanctuary is open every day of the week and it is suggested that visitors give a donation when they visit. Location B is a registered charity and receives the majority of its funds through tax-deductible donations. It also raises money through fundraisers which include trivia pub nights, barbeques, and concerts as well as online fundraising initiatives. The majority of the fundraisers are off-site and coordinated by outside organizations. During this research only one fundraiser was vegan and one was vegetarian. Much of the food at the events included meat and animal by-products.

i) Non-Humans

During the period that the research was conducted, Location B provided a forever home for 129 non-humans, a total that can be further divided as shown in Figure 4.

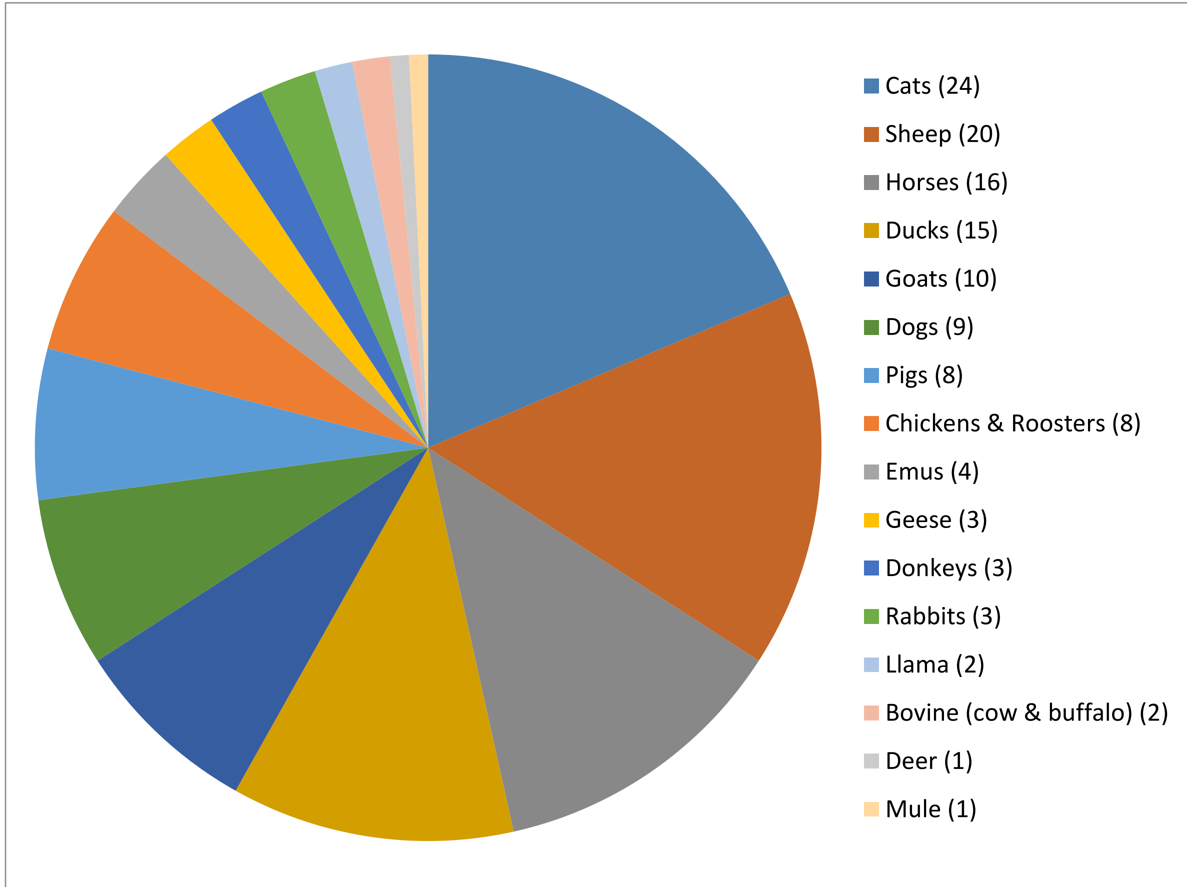

Figure 4. Species of non-humans living at Location B.[22]

[22] For this research cows, buffalo, bison and yaks are grouped together in the subfamily bovine. These species co-exist together in the same field at both sanctuaries.

Life Histories

Most of these animals were brought to location B from inhumane conditions and re-homing situations. Location B has permanent residents as well as animals available for adoption. The sanctuary has several non-farm animals which include cats and dogs. The cats tend to be relocated TNR (trap-neuter-return) ferals, strays and from re-homing situations. The dogs are rescues from inhumane conditions and from re-homing situations. Most of the cats and dogs are available for adoption. The cats roam freely throughout the property and people who are interested in adopting a cat can interact with the cats in the barns or outdoors to see which cat they are most interested in; however, most of the free roaming cats are permanent residents and are not available for adoption.

The director of location B would not comment on specific investigations, but did mention that the cow and buffalo were removed from inhumane conditions where they were living in "knee-deep mud" and filth. Some animals arrived due to abuse, "misunderstanding of animal care," or neglect. The director would not specify which animals came from these situations, but did mention that some of the horses and llamas arrived from SPCA and Humane Society cases. The other horses tended to be retired from being used for riding.

I was informed that every animal at location B was "surrendered." None of the animals had noticeable physical wounds when they arrived and none of the animals at location B were slaughter truck rescues. Most of the animals at location B would be considered abandoned, because their surrender is the result of circumstances that have changed people's lives including divorce, loss of job, moving to retirement homes, a new baby or relationship that for some reason does not adapt to the animal already in the home (such as, for example, an allergic reaction). Animals also arrived from other sanctuaries that closed due to financial commitments or an inability to continue. Most of the pot-bellied pigs and some of the other animals are from zoning and by-law problems where animals are banned within town or city limits. Most of the dogs were unclaimed at the dog pound. When dogs are not claimed they become the legal responsibility of location B where they will try to find a new home for them.

Contrary to location A, location B provides sanctuary for numerous companion animals and not exclusively farm animals. Table 6 compares the types of animals at location A with location B.

	Location A	Location B
"Farm" Animal		
Horses	3	16
Bovine	17	2
Pigs	15	8
Sheep	11	20
Ducks	8	15
Goats	6	10
Chickens	3	8
Donkeys	2	3
Llama	1	2
Deer	0	1
Mule	0	1
Emus	0	4
Geese	0	3
Companion Animal		
Cats	3	24
Dogs	0	9
Rabbits[23]	0	3
Total Animals	69	129

Table 6. The different types of animals at both sanctuaries.

ii) Volunteers

Location B has approximately 63 volunteers. Over four days ten volunteers were given questionnaires, interviewed and observed. I interacted with fewer volunteers at location B in comparison to location A, because those were the only volunteers available over the four days I was able to visit the location B. Many of the volunteers at location B were at the sanctuary at least two of the four days. The volunteers were required to clean the barns and feed the animals. Unlike Location A, volunteers were not encouraged to

[23] As defined in Spedding, C. (2000). *Animal Welfare*. London: Earthscan Publications Ltd.

socialize with the farm animals inside the pens. However some volunteers cuddled the rabbits in their arms and many volunteers were excited to walk the dogs.

What type of people volunteer?

The questionnaire was the same for Location B. Each volunteer was asked to classify themselves as vegan, vegetarian or neither. Volunteers were also asked if they have a vegan lifestyle. Unlike Location A, out of the 10 volunteers, only one (10%) has a vegan diet and lives a vegan lifestyle. One volunteer (10%) has a vegetarian diet. The remaining eight volunteers are neither vegan nor vegetarian and consume both animals and animal products.

Non-Vegan/Vegetarians

Given that only one volunteer was vegan and one vegetarian, it is not surprising that few volunteers at location B exhibited vegan ideologies. One participant described her neighbour as a "freaky" animal lover who "saves all animals" and explained that her neighbour was not normal. This participant, along with another, declared that chickens are to be raised for meat. When asked how hard is it to separate from the chickens at the sanctuary and the food on their plate, the participant was unable to respond and changed the subject. The participant mentioned that as a child his/her job on his/her grandparents' farm was to catch the chickens running around with their heads chopped off. S/he laughed and showed no visible signs of remorse or sadness. This participant volunteers because s/he misses "being around farm animals" and enjoys the "escape from the city." Another participant assumed that farm animals lack intelligence during an interaction. This person had tossed apples in the horse field and called to the horses to get the apples. When the horses did not approach the apples, the participant said: "I shouldn't reward bad behaviour. Wait, how do they know, they're farm animals."

Vegan/Vegetarian

The one vegan volunteer at location B spends time at this sanctuary to interact with and "get to know" farm animals. For four years she volunteered her time getting to know one specific pig. "I wanted to show it so much love to maybe offset all of the abuse that happens to them."

iii) Vegan Ideologies

To further determine the safeness of location B, I have considered the ideologies of the volunteers at this sanctuary. Figure 2 on page 40 shows that most of the volunteers at location B believe that humans should use animals for their milk and eggs. Furthermore, the majority of participants at location B are neither vegan nor vegetarian, so consume animals. One of the volunteers did not exhibit any of the three vegan ideologies utilized in this research. This person may demonstrate compassion for some of the animals at location B, but it was apparent that she did not have compassion for all animals, particularly the horses she interacted with at location B and the chickens she interacted with as a child. When asked if farm animals have emotions, she was unsure. Her views of farm animals may extend to how she was raised and her parents' view of farm animals. Whatever the case may be, can a sanctuary be a safe space for animals when a volunteer does not exhibit vegan ideologies, specifically if they do not disassociate the animals at the sanctuary and the animals on her dinner plate?

iv) Safe Spaces?

The following findings help determine the safeness of location B. I had asked the volunteers to define a safe space for animals. Their responses contribute to the categorization of levels of attachment. The non-vegans/vegetarians had similar definitions for a safe space for farm animals. One volunteer who believes that animals are on the planet for humans to use described a safe space as "[…] a farm. So they have lots of room to go and aren't locked up in cages." This person volunteers at location B simply because they "love animals." After speaking with this volunteer, I concluded that she is a welfarist who demonstrated concerned attachment. While she recognizes farm animals as emotional beings and is concerned about the treatment of the animals, she separates the animals she eats from the animals she care for. While she feels that it is "hard to see an animal slaughtered for meat," she accepts the societal norm that animals are food. This volunteer appears not to be intentionally concerned with the rights of the animals as sentient beings and perceives animals below humans. However, she does associate violence with the food she eats; therefore, she does not demonstrate concerned detachment. Her principle contradicts the abolition of hierarchy, a vegan ideology. Furthermore, viewing a hierarchical relationship between humans and non-humans can contribute to objectifying non-humans, which is what this volunteer appears to have done by perceiving animals as being available on the planet for humans to use. And does it contradict the idea that safe spaces challenge unspoken hierarchies?

Another non-vegan/vegetarian defined a safe space as:

> A loving home, where the animals are well fed and watered, well groomed, played with on a regular basis, well sheltered, medically sound […] vet seen regularly […] and cared for medically if there are health issues.

Another non-vegan/vegetarian believed that the amount of space provided was most important when defining a safe space. They felt that a safe space for a domesticated animal was a person's home, apartment, or a farm or animal shelter.

> A place where there is enough room for the animals to grow and have the opportunity to interact with other animals […] make sure they are not isolated from other activity for long periods of time.

The sole vegan had a very similar definition of a safe space. Although throughout our conservations she discussed the horrors of animal abuse in slaughterhouses and the unnecessary use of animals for entertainment, she did not incorporate the three main vegan ideologies into her definition of safe space, instead she mentioned the basic necessities which focuses more on animal welfare instead of animal rights.

> I guess I consider a safe space one where the animals are loved a lot. Given lots of affection and lots of time to run. A space where they always have access to clean water and good feed.

While her response was similar to the welfarists, the vegan did not use the word farm when discussing a safe space, a word that most of the volunteers used at location B when explaining a safe space for animals. Furthermore, the rightist vegans at location A who displayed an attached attachment tended to eliminate the word "farm" from their vocabulary when discussing a safe space.

For location B, parallel to location A, I analyzed participants' vegan or non-vegan lifestyle and I determined if they were rightist or welfarist. Next I will use those findings to categorize participants within the levels of attachment.

Vegan or Non-Vegan

Rightist or Welfarist

Attached or Detached Attachment or Attached or Detached Detachment

Safeness[24]

vi) Levels of Attachment

Thus far, I have analysed the types of animals at location B, the types of people who volunteer, the classification of the sanctuary, the vegan ideologies and the potential safeness of the sanctuary. The findings now allow me to group the volunteers within the attachment framework. Parallel to location A, the levels of attachment were measured by their views of animal rights, animal welfare, vegan ideologies and their idea of a safe space for animals. The majority of volunteers at location B demonstrated concerned attachment; they regard farm animals as emotional beings,[25] but display a different level of attachment to the animals in the sanctuary compared to the animals that they eat (see table 4). Those who display concerned attachment tend to be vegetarians rather than vegan, and are more likely to be welfarists rather than rightists. One of the volunteers at location B displays attached attachment. This volunteer is a rightist vegan. And two participants demonstrate concerned detachment. These two participants are neither vegan nor vegetarian and believe that animals are for humans to use. They may be concerned with the well-being of the sanctuary animals, but are not concerned (or unaware) of animal rights. Figure 5 demonstrates the considerable difference between location A and location b in terms of levels of attachment.

[24] The safeness of both location A and location B will be discussed in the conclusion.
[25] 90% of participants felt that farm animals have emotions.

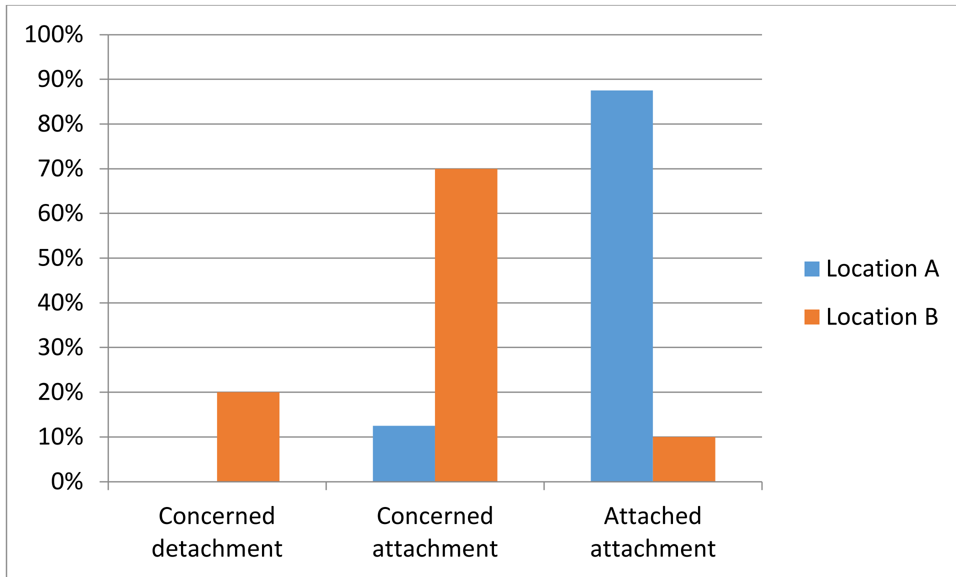

Figure 5. The percentage of volunteers at both locations and the levels of attachment that they exhibit.

vii) Location B Summary

Taking in consideration the volunteers' lifestyles (vegan/not vegan), their beliefs (rightists/welfarists), their understanding of animal abuse, their detachment/attachment to the animals consumed in North America, and their acceptance of emotions in non-human animals, I categorized each volunteer at location B into either welfarist or rightists. At location B 90% of volunteers are welfarists and 10% are rightists (see Table 3).[26] I then used that information to classify the participants within the levels of attachment. At location B seven volunteers exhibit concerned attachment and two exhibit concerned detachment. These nine volunteers are non-vegan welfarists. The one vegan rightist is categorized into attached attachment.

[26] Details in regards to location B will be elaborated in Section C of Chapter 4.

Chapter V: Conclusion

Reflecting on the definitions of safe spaces for humans, a safe space for domesticated non-humans would include a space that is considered free of control, protected from outside society and a place where unspoken hierarchies can be challenged. Now, taking in consideration the opinions of sanctuary volunteers, a safe space consists of a lot of basic needs and includes the five freedoms. However, if those who interact with sanctuary animals consume and exploit other animals of the same breed outside of the sanctuary, can the space be safe? If a sanctuary had only welfarist non-vegans who exhibited a concerned detachment, I would suggest that that sanctuary would not be a safe space. A sanctuary with a mix of volunteers who exhibit either attached attachment or concerned attachment can be considered a safe space; however, the safeness is limited, because a true safe space would be completely free of hierarchies and control. Sanctuaries still create borders (fencing) and control when an animal goes outside or remains in a barn. Animals are not free to roam outside of controlled spaces. Furthermore, breeding is managed or prohibited at sanctuaries. The motivations of sanctuaries are justifiable (for example, the sanctuary does not want to contribute to the over-population of "unwanted" farm animals, or finances cannot support preventable births). But regardless, the safeness of the space is restricted since the animals' choice is limited. Also, animals are neutered and spayed which removes internal organs and changes the animals' sexual behaviour, acts that involve control and a hierarchical existence. Concisely, a true safe space for domesticated farm animals may not exist, but the findings from this research suggest what an ideal safe space for farm animals might be. Ideally the space would include "attached attachment" in a rightist sanctuary with vegan volunteers.

This research investigated this claim by determining what "safe" means within animal geography and who participates within safe(?) spaces. Human-animal relationships leave imprints on particular places over time. Correspondingly, this research analysed the spatial and relational foundations of two sanctuaries, investigating the conceptual building blocks of the spaces. Furthermore this research assessed the relationships of sanctuary animals and volunteers within safe(?) spaces. The findings of this research provide insight

into farm animal sanctuaries and the ideologies that shape these spaces. It is important to discuss the findings in this section to help answer the concluding questions:

a. Do vegan ideologies shape farm animal sanctuaries?
b. Are farm animal sanctuaries safe spaces?
c. What defines a safe space for farm animals?

Do vegan ideologies shape farm animal sanctuaries?

The research was a case study of two different farm animal sanctuaries in Eastern Ontario. While both sanctuaries have missions that encompass helping animals, both sanctuaries were different in terms of ideologies. Vegan ideologies do play a role in the safeness of location A. The majority of volunteers interviewed at location A are vegan and view farm animals from a rightist's point of view. Furthermore, the mission of location A is very vegan-focused and particularly connected to the vegan ideology "compassion for all." The sanctuary is promoted as a sanctuary "for all," meaning peace for both non-humans and humans and highlighting that non-humans and humans are all connected. This reiterates Lambin's (2012) claim that that to preserve a healthy environment and a close connection with nature, one must maintain positive altruistic relationships with animals. Do the relationships between location A's volunteers and the animals contribute to the "ecology of happiness"? Spending time with volunteers at location A allowed me to understand their intentions and their ideologies.

It was not as obvious for location B. While its mission emphasizes animal welfare instead of animal rights, similar to location A, location B focuses on improving relations between humans and non-humans. Location B does not put limitations on the types of animals it allows at the sanctuary; both "farm" and companion animals are welcomed. Participants at location B claim that they volunteer because they "love animals." The majority of these volunteers eat animals, but want these animals to live a happy and healthy life. They appear to follow the trend that Salt described as "demi-vegetarian" and that a short and happy life is better than no life at all (Hare 1993; Višak 2013). Francione (2006) describes these people as "new welfarists" who reject vegan ideologies and focus more on humane treatment instead of abolishing exploitation.

Vegan ideologies tend to play a role in the foundations of sanctuaries; however, they specifically do not shape all sanctuary spaces. Location B's welfare mission does not focus on the three main vegan ideologies, but does allow for a protected space, whereas location A's foundations revolve around the three main vegan ideologies.

Are farm animal sanctuaries safe spaces?

When this research began, location B gave the impression of being a farm animal sanctuary. As the research progressed, location B appeared to have shifted its focus from farm animals to companion animals. The participants I interviewed had been volunteering at location B before the research began. The volunteers started volunteering primarily to care for rescued farm animals.

In the literature review I questioned if welfarists seek the same type of space for non-humans as the rightists. The findings show that both welfarists and rightists want the same physical space: a space with adequate food, water, vet care, shelter and lots of room for them to roam. However, rightists tend to look beyond the basic needs for a sanctuary: a space where animals are not bred and are not objectified and exploited. Compared to safe spaces for humans, both sanctuaries protect animals from harm and attack. However, location A advocates for eradication of oppression and stands for an ideology that is not the societal norm, which is more comparable to the Roestone Collective's (2014) description of safe space for humans: a site for "negotiating difference and challenging oppression."

Both sanctuaries tend to steer away from two crucial details for safe spaces for humans. They do not provide a space that is free of control and they both demonstrate hierarchical injustice. As Emel, et al., (2015) argue, farm sanctuaries may be free of violence, but the animals are still controlled by humans: their enclosures are determined and created by humans; their pasture mates are chosen by humans; and their breeding is prevented by humans. A safe space for farm animals goes beyond the idea that safety is dependent on the threat of violence; however, the unspoken hierarchies within these sanctuaries can contribute to negative hierarchical injustices. The findings show that those who interact with these animals claim that the sanctuaries are indeed safe spaces. But can an animal be safe if its species is perceived as food by its caretakers? How does one separate the food on

one's plate from the animals one cares for at a sanctuary? If a safe space for farm animals followed the guidelines of a safe space for humans, sanctuaries would not exist.

What would be the sanctuaries "safe" replacement? The concept of rewilding has some traction and promise here. As discussed in the literature review, rewilding is a theory that is common in ecological restoration, but new to animal geography. I first became aware of rewilding at the 14th Annual ICAS North America Conference. The Institute of Critical Animal Studies (ICAS) has an activist consciousness of animal liberation and is therefore determined to have roots in veganism. Joe Hatfield's presentation "PETA's Queer Dilemma: Advocating for a Rhetoric of Wildness" discussed PETA's SeaWorld activism and its attempt to replace the hunter/prey form for a civilization/wild binary. [27] While Hatfield's talk was not centered on rewilding, he did discuss how a return to wildness can be a healthy option. Would the safest space for farm animals be a space where there is less human interaction? Where hierarchies could be abolished? This is what abolitionist groups such as Animal Liberation Front strive for. Is location A as safe as safe can be without resorting to rewilding? As one volunteer at location A stressed, farm animals should not exist at all. In other words, farm animals should instead just be non-humans and return to the "wilderness" as they once were prior to domestication. This new concept is an area that requires more research to determine the effects on the animals, the environment, and humans. Non-humans would be subjected to predation and health issues would not be treated by veterinarians, but they would not be controlled by humans and hierarchies could be abolished.

What defines a safe space for farm animals?

Since rewilding is a relatively new concept in animal geography and more research is needed, it is important to discuss what is a pragmatic safe space for domesticated animals without resorting to rewilding. Both location A and location B provide insight as to what shapes a safe space for animals. The findings of both these sanctuaries combined suggest that a safe space for animals can be a space free of harm; a space where the animals are well fed and watered; a space where exploitation is discouraged; a space where animals are

[27] Joe Hatfield, at the time, was an MA Candidate in Communication and Rhetorical Studies at Syracuse University.

not intentionally oppressed; and a space where animals are treated close to being equals.[28] But does a safe space need to be inclusively vegan? Are all volunteers and directors required to be rightists? No. The research suggests that although the safeness of a sanctuary is determined by the ideologies of the those involved in the space, a space can still be safe if some participants are not vegan, and/or rightists and do not exhibit an attached attachment. The safeness is limited at sanctuaries due to the hierarchical divide.

All considered, the findings of this research narrowly describe farm animal sanctuaries and the people who care for the animals within these spaces. They also determine the safeness of sanctuaries and identify new research possibilities within animal geography. This thesis concludes that farm animal sanctuaries are indeed safe spaces for animals, but with limitations. From the interviews conducted at both locations, volunteers do believe that the sanctuaries are safe spaces for animals and do try to make them safe. The rethinking of animals in an ethical and animal geography context can assist in researching the positive side of human-animal relationships and help remove negative views of animals as separate beings that are socially constructed and economically rooted.

[28] Farm animals in sanctuaries cannot be treated as equals to humans, because of hierarchical discrimination.

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Appendix I

Questionnaire for Volunteers

“Safe” Spaces? How vegan ideologies shape farm animal sanctuaries

Participants must be 18 years or older

Age: **Gender:** ☐ Male ☐ Female ☐ Genderless ☐ Other ☐ Prefer not to respond

1. **How long have you been a volunteer at the Sanctuary?**

☐ 0 – 6 months ☐ 6 months – 1 year ☐ 1 year – 5 years ☐ more than 5 years

2. **What was your initial reason for volunteering?** (please use reverse side of paper if you require more space)

____

____

____

4. **Is your initial reason still the reason why you volunteer today?**

☐ YES ☐ NO

5. **If no, please explain why you continue to volunteer at the sanctuary.** (please use reverse side of paper if you require more space)

____

____

____

6. **Where do you reside?**

☐ RURAL COMMUNITY ☐ URBAN CENTRE ☐ SUBURBS ☐ AGRICULTURAL FARM

4. **Do you have a vegan diet (do not consume any meat, dairy, eggs or products derived from animals)?**

☐ YES ☐ NO

5. **Do you have a vegetarian diet (do not consume any meat derived from animals)?**

☐ YES ☐ NO

6. **Are any of your friends or family members maintain a vegan diet?**

☐ YES ☐ NO

7. **Are any of your friends or family members maintain a vegetarian diet?**

☐ YES ☐ NO

8. **Do you maintain a vegan lifestyle? (Do not purposely use products derived from animals. Ex. leather, wool. Please note that many wines, cosmetics and body products contain ingredients derived from animals. Also, do not support events that use animals for entertainment and/or monetary gain. Ex. zoos, circuses, farm fairs).**

☐ YES ☐ NO

9. **Do you believe that animals are on Earth for humans to use?**

☐ YES ☐ NO ☐ NOT SURE

10. **What do you consider a safe space for domesticated animals?** (please use reverse side of paper if you require more space)

____

____

____

11. **Is the sanctuary where you volunteer a safe space for animals?**

☐ YES ☐ NO

12. **Do you think that positive human/animal relationships are key to global happiness?**

☐ YES ☐ NO ☐ NOT SURE

15. **Do animals belong on farms that raise them for dairy, meat or other products?**

☐ YES ☐ NO

16. **Why do animals belong on farms? OR Why do animals not belong on farms?**

____

____

____

17. **Do animals have emotions?**

☐ YES ☐ NO ☐ NOT SURE

Thank you for participating.

Appendix II

Modified Version of Wilkie's Attachment Framework

Level of Farmer-Animal Associations	**Description**
Concerned detachment	Animal care volunteers regard farm animals as emotional beings, but believe that they are all here for humans to use. They may not recognize (or deny) that the animal products they eat are associated with violence. These volunteers are not vegan and not rightists, but can be welfarists.
Detached detachment	Since all participants volunteer with animals, this association does not apply with this proposed research.
Concerned attachment	Animal care volunteers regard farm animals as emotional beings, but display a different level of attachment to the animals in the sanctuary compared to the animals that they eat. These volunteers may be vegetarian, but not vegan. These volunteers are more likely to be welfarists.
Attached attachment	Animal care volunteers regard farm animals as emotional beings and do not believe that animals are to be used by humans. They display the three vegan ideologies: compassion for all beings; and the opposition of exploitation and violence. They are vegans and rightists.